

Stray Thoughts on some Incidents in my Life

BY
SIR BIPIN KRISHNA BOSE

Calcutta:
DAS GUPTA & CO.
1919.

PRINTED BY DAS GUPTA & CO., CALCUTTA.



At age 57

PREFACE.

These pages have been written from time to time during intervals of rest, generally in some health-resort. They stand practically as they were written. They are published in the hope that the lessons of my experience may, in however slight a degree, serve to help my countrymen engaged in the difficult task of guiding the nation in the critical times that are ahead of us. I do not claim for my opinions that they are in every respect right. It is only claimed for them that they are the convictions of an honest mind, truly anxious for his country's good. I have done my best to be fair to those with whom I have been unable to agree. If perchance I have in any case strayed from this ideal, I may be forgiven. It has not been intentional. It was my original desire to have this memoir published after my death. I have decided in favour of the present publication in deference to friends to whom I had shown the manuscript.

B. K. BOSE,

NAGPUR,
4th October, 1919.

CORRECTIONS.

<i>Page</i>	<i>line</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>read</i>
5	1	of	omit
12	last	attendance	attendance
23	5	opportnuitles	opportunities
24	6 (from bottom)	know	known
24	5 (from bottom)	aud	and
26	15	ters	tors
26	19	the rulers	rulers
26	30	it is in,	it is, in
31	24	or	on
36	21	recommanding	recommending
36	31	1887	1882
48	1 (of footnote)	1905	1006
48	2 (of footnote)	Reid	Reed
55	10	moment	movement
57	14	Lyell	Lyall
61	5 (from bottom)	do.	do.
64	4	do.	do.
68	2	years,	years'
86	13	1905	(1905)
134	2 (of marginal note)	1900	1910
146	5 (from bottom)	sense	a sense
160	26	breavement	bereavement
162	3	little	a little

*** Tithal, May 1906.**

I was born on the 20th of January, 1851,—8th Boyhood.
Magh, Sakabda 1772, in Calcutta in the house of
my maternal grand-father, now No. 50 Hari
Ghose's Street. My mother was at the time the
only child of her parents and as her father was
a man of means and occupied a high position in
the Hindu society of the time, she generally lived
with him. We were a high class Kayastha family
and came originally from East Bengal. My great-
grand-father married the only sister of Raja Nobo
Krishna Bahadur, the founder of the Sobha Bazar
Raj Family. After the marriage, or, may be,
owing to the marriage, our family came and set-
tled in Calcutta.

I was, naturally enough, a pet of my maternal
grand-father and was brought up by him in
luxury. My education was, however, carefully
looked after. For some time I learnt at home
under a private tutor or *guru*. When I was about
8 years old, I was sent to a vernacular school in
Sham Bazar. I was attentive to my studies and
obedient to my tutors. I believe I was liked by
them all. I gained a silver medal while in the
school. I well remember having lost it on my
way home and my feeling of intense disappoint-
ment, when I discovered my loss. I was well-

* This is a small sea-side village in the Surat District of the
Bombay Presidency. It is an ideal health-resort and a very quiet
place.

tions. Here I made the acquaintance of U. N. Das, eldest son of Babu Srinath Das, the distinguished Vakil of the Calcutta High Court. He (U. N. Das) was a most gifted young man, though owing to certain causes, which it would be painful to relate, his career was a most unfortunate one and his life had a sad ending. Young as I then was, my mind was just forming and was in a condition to imbibe new ideas. U. N. Das by his example greatly fostered in me a desire to store my mind with all that is best and noblest in the Literature and Science of England. He also during the course of frequent talks and discussions set before me a high ideal of life, a life of strenuous self-sacrifice for the public good. There was a great deal of intellectual activity in our college life. We did not mix much in politics, though we took an intelligent interest in the events of the day. We gave a good deal of our attention to the discussion of religious, moral and social subjects. We also took much interest in the religious revival consequent on Babu Kesub Chandra Sen's appearance as leader of the progressive Brahmos. I used often to attend his lectures, as also those of the Rev. Lal Behari Dey, between whom and Babu Kesub Chandra Sen there went on for long a sort of intellectual duel regarding the comparative merits of Christianity and Brahmoism. Similarly I was interested in the widow marriage agitation of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and the temperance movement of Babu Peary Charan Sircar. The last was one of our Professors and was greatly loved and respected by us. In every thing he taught he set before us a high ideal of

of life and I can still call to mind his soul-stirring lectures and how eagerly I used to hang on his words. I may mention here an incident, which is interesting as showing the character of these two men. It was well-known at the time that Vidya-sagar Mahashay had spent a fortune in advancing the cause of widow-marriage and had on that account run into debt. Babu Peary Charan was a great friend of his and with a view to help him, he quietly and without letting him know anything about it, opened a subscription list. We, his (Peary Babu's) students, eagerly took up the matter and raised a considerable sum among ourselves. When, however, the money was offered to Vidya-sagar Mahashay he indignantly refused to accept it and severely taxed his friend for meddling in his private affairs. In vain was it explained that it was no private affair but a matter which deeply affected the cause he had at heart. He could not be induced to take the money and it was, I believe, utilized for some other public object. Peary Charan Babu associated us, his students, with another good work. In 1867, there was famine in Orissa. The Government failed to give the suffering people relief and Calcutta was overrun with starvelings from the distressed tracts. Babu Peary Charan started several *Annya Chatras* to feed the famished people and we helped him both with money and our services in organising and managing these institutions. Many lives were thus saved.

We had our College Clubs, in which we discussed various matters. I always took part in these discussions. Conducted on sound

principles, they help to form a habit of close thinking and accurate reasoning.

Our College had a fine library and we were allowed to take advantage of it. My plan of study was not to confine myself within the four corners of the text books but taking the subjects they treated as ground-work, to study the best authors dealing with the same or cognate subjects. I used to spend a considerable portion of my time in the College Library. I also used to utilise my scholarships, which I enjoyed throughout my College career, in buying works of noted authors. We had some excellent and sympathetic professors. Our relations with them were cordial. They loved us and we loved them. This was specially the case with our Principal, Mr. Sutcliffe. He was like a father to us and treated us as his children. It is said this happy state of things no longer exists. I do not know who is to blame, the students or the professors, perhaps both. Anyhow, if this is a fact, it is a most unfortunate fact. For here in the College, if anywhere, our young men, who are hereafter to be our men of light and leading, should learn to love and respect the members of the ruling class. In after life many adverse influences unfortunately come into play, which tend to sour the relations between the rulers and the ruled. But in the calm and serene atmosphere of a College, where the one absorbing occupation of the teachers should be to impart and of the students to imbibe, England's best and most cherished gift to India, namely, her noble Literature and Science, race-antagonism and those baser feelings, which take their rise

from race-pride or race-hatred, should find no breeding ground.

I was married while I was in the second year, reading for the First Arts. My marriage took place on the 15th day of Phalgun of the Sambat year 1271, March 1867. My wife was the eldest daughter of Babu Radhika Prasad Ghose and grand-daughter (daughter's daughter) of Babu Shib Chandra Deb of Konnagar. The former was one of the first batch of successful students of the Civil Engineering College and was at the time attached to the Public Works Department of the Central Provinces. My wife was born in the house of her maternal grand-father and was brought up by him. He was a noble character. He was one of the distinguished students of the old Hindu College and had at the time retired after long and meritorious service under the Government. He spent his retirement in good works. He established in his native village, Konnagar, a Brahmo Samaj, a school for boys, a school for girls, a public library and a Homeopathic Dispensary. Though old in years, there were few young men who could equal him in energy, enthusiasm and devotion in promoting the public good. He was a devout Brahmo and exemplified in his daily life the highest ideals of all good religions. My wife was educated in her grand-father's Girls School and was brought up in his faith. My parents were orthodox Hindus and her entrance into our family caused some embarrassment, but not so far as I was personally concerned. I had already come under the influence of the great religious upheaval

Marriage
while at
College.

consequent on the appearance of Babu Kesub Chandra Sen as a religious reformer and my marriage gave an additional momentum to the influences which were working in me. My mind was at the time in a state of transition and I had not come to hold any fixed opinions on such a tremendously difficult subject as religion. I found in my young wife a companion, who sympathised with me and appreciated the ideals which were then gradually shaping themselves in me. The example of Babu Shib Chandra Deb's noble life was also of incalculable and inestimable benefit to me in the formation of my mind and character. I took great pains to continue my wife's education and used to give her lessons after we had retired for the night. For, according to our social customs, I could not meet her during the day and in the presence of the elders of the family. We have now passed through life together for over 38 years. We have had many joys, these have been intensified by our enjoying them together. We have had also many sorrows, some severe and, as it seemed to us at the time, crushing. But even in the hour of our intensest sufferings, we have found consolation and peace of mind, by sharing them together. Above all her firm faith in God's Infinite Goodness has taught me to look upon the trials of life as so many lessons to purify the soul and to draw us nearer to Him.

My College life covered a period of six years. I worked hard and denied myself many of the ordinary pleasures of life in order to devote myself to my studies. I had inherited a rather weak

constitution but I made the most of my time and power of work, and, by keeping regular hours, I was able to study a good deal. I paid great attention to my health, I used to take regular walks, morning and evening ; and as my College was at some distance from my house and I also walked there and back, this gave me all the physical exercise I needed. We had not in those days the various games, which now enliven the life of our students and relieve the strain on their brain. I passed out of my College in February 1872 after obtaining the degrees of Master of Arts in Mathematics and of Bachelor of Law. Altogether my college life was a happy one. It fills me even now after a lapse of 33 years, in which many joys and sorrows have crowded together, with pleasant and inspiring memories. My favourite subject in the College was Mathematics. I took great delight in the solution of mathematical problems. This gave me the habit of mental concentration, a habit which has been of great benefit to me in all the occupations I have engaged myself in since leaving College. Light science had also a great fascination for me. In those days there were not the facilities, which students now have, to study science. Father Lafont, the well-known Science Professor of the St. Xavier's College, used to give popular lectures in Physics once or twice a week at 8 p. m. to a select body of paying students in his College Laboratory. I used regularly to attend his lectures. I may mention here that Justice Dwarkanath Mitra was also one of those who attended these lectures.

I may state in connection with my College life that I narrowly missed an opportunity to finish my education in England. The success of our College associates, Messrs. R. C. Dutt and B. L. Gupta, at the Indian Civil Service had inspired me with a strong desire to go to England with a view to compete at that examination. Just at that time the Government had instituted a State Scholarship for students desiring to study in England. The scholarship was to be competed for and I was one of the candidates. There was only one other competitor with me and I had good hopes of success. The examination was to have taken place on a Monday in January 1870 but on the preceding Wednesday a Notification appeared in the Calcutta Gazette abolishing the scholarship. I had studied hard both for the above examination as also in preparing myself for the Civil Service and my disappointment was at that time keen. Looking back I do not regret that I missed the chance of entering the Civil Service, though I must confess I have never been able to look upon the action of the Government otherwise than as not fair to us, the two candidates for the scholarship.

Radical
League

In 1871-72, U. N. Dass had established an Association to which he gave the rather high-sounding name of "Radical League." He had just been married to a widow and was editing a daily newspaper, called the "Indian Post." His ambition was to be a social as well as a political reformer. I was a member of the League and so also were many of my College associates. My object in referring to the League is to record a good act it

was able to do. The Progressive Brahmos headed by Babu Kesub Chandra Sen were moving the Legislature at the time to pass a Brahmo Marriage Act, as they objected to be married according to Hindu rites and a marriage under the special form instituted by them was considered of doubtful legality. The "Radical League" started a movement to have a "Civil Marriage Act," such as would afford relief to all who might object to be married according to the rites of the various recognised religious communities, such as Hindus, Mahomedans, Buddhists, Parsees, Christians &c. I was deputed by the League to wait on the Legal member, Sir Fitz James Stephen, to explain to him the position taken up by the League. The representation of the League prevailed and a purely Civil Marriage Act was passed. The services done by the League in this matter were referred to by the Law member in his speech in Council in appreciative terms. In seeking their fortunes, the leading members of the League one by one left Calcutta and it soon ceased to exist.

Civil Marriage
Act, 1872

In April 1872, I got myself enrolled as a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court. I had then just completed my 21st year. As the Bar in those days was not over-crowded, I believe, I would have got on in course of time, if I had remained attached to the High Court. But I had already become the father of two children and was very anxious to earn my own livelihood and cease to be a burden on my kind father. In July 1872, I accordingly went to Jubbulpore, which place I had come to know in the previous year, having gone and stayed there for about two months as

Enrolled as a
Vakil
Calcutta
High Court

Came to
Jabalpur C. P.
to practise

Headmaster of the local aided high school. (Hitkarini Sobha School). It had suited my health, which had been much shattered by the hard labours of a rather strenuous college life. I had to get myself admitted as a local pleader, as the Central Provinces were not under the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court. The certificate permitting me to plead was issued on the 10th of July 1872. The Commissioner was the highest local judicial officer and I called on him to pay him my respects. He received me kindly and the first thing he told me was that he hoped I would not be like the local pleaders but would uphold the honour of the profession. I knew nothing of the local Bar and all I could say was that I would do my best to earn his approbation. I may say this advice given in a fatherly way made a great impression on me. This officer, Mr, afterwards Sir Charles, Grant, became later on our Judicial Commissioner and then Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. In one of the annual judicial reports he said, referring to me and another Bengalee friend of mine, who was a Vakil as well as a Central Provinces pleader like me, that we were "very highly qualified." I had great initial difficulties to contend with. I was not received very kindly by my colleagues at the Bar and my youthful appearance was a disqualification with clients. However, I plodded on and was able to secure some practice. In 1873 I went to Saugor in connection with a case. I thought it my duty to call on the Deputy Commissioner. I was made to stand in the verandah by the peon in attendance. My card

was taken in and I could hear the gentleman shout to the peon that I could not be granted the honour of a *Mulákkát*. I did not wait for the peon to deliver the message but at once left the place. I was new to the world. I had received nothing but kind treatment from my college professors and this was a novel experience to me. For years after this I never visited an European Officer, for I could not be sure of the treatment I might receive. I soon made up my mind to move to Nagpur, the seat of the local High Court. I came to Nagpur in August 1874. Unlike Jubbulpore, Nagpur had a powerful Bar and as I was a perfect stranger in a strange land and was only imperfectly acquainted with the language of the country, the initial difficulties were even greater than at Jubbulpore and I had to struggle very hard to get a footing at the Bar. By and by, I happened to be engaged in a few difficult cases as the colleague of some of the leading members of the Bar. I studied these cases most carefully and was soon allowed to take the lead. One of them, locally known as the Munshi's case, I conducted up to the Court of the Judicial Commissioner and won it. This success assured my position at the Bar. After that I had no trouble in getting on and I may well claim to have gained the confidence both of Judges and clients. I have in all practised before twelve Judicial Commissioners. It has always been a rule with me to study with the utmost care first the facts and then the law of every case I take in hand. I do not take up a case in which there is not in my judgment a fair hope of success. This has

Came to
Nagpur

been my rule from the very outset of my career. But whatever the nature of the case, though I try to do the best I can for my client, I have never considered it a part of my duty to swerve even by a hair's breadth from the path of rectitude and honesty. When I accept a brief, I do not bind myself to advocate the cause of the client at the sacrifice of honesty in dealing with facts, of reasonableness in advancing arguments and of truthfulness in the general conduct of the case. A strict adherence to this rule during a professional career now extending over 33 years has not shaken the faith of clients in me. As for Judges, I believe it has made me popular with them. For it greatly facilitates their work if they are able to trust the advocates pleading before them. An advocate is no doubt bound to be a special pleader, but he need not necessarily be a dishonest or unreasonable special pleader. And when Judges find both sides represented by professional men animated by this principle, their work is very much lightened and there necessarily springs up a relation of mutual trust and respect. I have always kept up my study of law. I carefully note every case, Indian or English, which I read and I have found this practice most helpful. At the beginning I used to write down in full my arguments, so that I might not miss any point and might put my case in the most effective and logical way and without unduly lengthening my speech. This practice has been of great benefit to me and now I can conduct even intricate cases with a few stray notes. Altogether I may well claim to have

attained a considerable measure of success in my profession. Apart altogether from the question of the acquisition of pecuniary gain, I have found it a very interesting profession. It has brought me in contact with men of all classes and I have been able to learn a great deal of the manners and customs of the people, their ways of living, their methods of work, their economic condition and of the internal workings of their mind, their opinions of public men and measures. The experience thus gained has been very helpful to me in various ways.

I do not desire to record my opinion of any particular person I have met with in my professional career. I deem it, however, necessary to say a few words about my first Judicial Commissioner, Colonel Hector Mackenzie. He was Sir Richard Temple's Secretary and his right-hand man in settling and organising the newly constituted Administration. He afterwards became Judicial Commissioner and held that office from 1870 to 1877. He was not a trained lawyer but he was otherwise an ideal Judge, permeated by an intense love of justice, sparing no pains to arrive at the truth and strong and unyielding in upholding the honour and prestige of his high office. In his time questions relating to the effect of an award of proprietary right at Settlement used often to arise. Of the two conflicting views, he held the opinion that the award did not create any new right as under a gift from the Crown but merely confirmed pre-existing rights, only adding to them some qualities they did not possess before. The Local Government was strongly opposed to

Colonel
Hector
Mackenzie,
my first
Judicial
Commissioner

this view as it was thought that it ran counter to the policy of Government in making the proprietary Settlement. Attempts were made to reason Col. Mackenzie into the view of the Local Government but as one who perhaps knew as much of that policy as any executive officer, he declined to subordinate his judgment to that of the executive. This led to some friction. Later on, when he declined to uphold convictions in some police cases considered by the Local Government to be of vital importance for the maintenance of peace and order, the friction became accentuated. The Chief Commissioner at last reported Col. Mackenzie to the Government of India as failing to co-operate loyally with him in upholding law and order. The result was that Col. Mackenzie was made to retire. The members of the Nagpur Bar organized a demonstration in his honour, not in a spirit of opposition to the Government but in recognition of his high qualities as a Judge. In fact we were not supposed to know the secret history of Col. Mackenzie's retirement and so far as the public were concerned, he retired in the ordinary course of service owing to failing eye-sight. It fell to me to prepare the address and present it to him. We also raised a fund among ourselves and established a scholarship in his name. It is still awarded to the best student of the Neill City High School. Col. Mackenzie would appear to be still alive, for I saw his name among the subscribers to the Punjab Earthquake Relief Fund. It is seldom that one comes across such a high-souled Englishman. His love for the Indians was deep

and sincere. He treated them as if he was one of them. Many Englishmen are kind to Indians but even the best among them are seldom able to forget in their dealings with Indians that they belong to a conquering race. Col. Mackenzie met his Indian friends on terms of perfect equality and lost none of the prestige of his position by so doing. If anything, he thereby enhanced it and made himself loved and respected the more.* The popularity of British rule would be increased many-fold if more of such men were found in the ranks of the English administrators of India. It is indeed a thousand pities that this simple truth is so seldom perceived and so seldom acted up to. How much the difficult task of governing a people alien in race and religion, manners and customs, would be smoothed over if it were otherwise. For the Indians are a grateful race. Even a little kindness warms their heart. But even this kindness often times they fail to receive. More often than not, even the highest among them are made to feel that they belong to an inferior and conquered race. I venture to think this need never be. It should not be understood that personally I have any complaint to make. As a rule I only visit officers with whom I have official matters to transact or subjects affecting the public interest to talk over. And I have nothing to complain of in this respect so far as I am concerned and this, though I have had often to present and

* Colonel Mackenzie left a legacy of three quarter of a lakh for the benefit of the people of the Central Provinces. This munificent gift has been distributed among various charitable and educational institutions.

support views opposed to the official view. I have found that opinions honestly entertained and put forward with moderation and reasonableness receive due consideration, and whether accepted or not, such a course of conduct has not in my case marred the cordiality of my relations with officials. But I am talking of the general trend of opinion among my countrymen. From what I have heard and seen, I feel bound to say that this opinion is not by any means altogether ill-founded.

When I first came to the Province in 1872, the practice was to appoint Judges and Magistrates from the ranks of the higher ministerial officials. Most of these men were brought up in the corrupt training ground of the *amla* class. The result was what was to be expected. Promoted to the Bench, many of these men could not rise superior to their past training and tradition, and corruption crept in. Their knowledge of law and procedure also left much to be desired. Perhaps this latter would not have mattered much if it had been possible to keep the Province out of the sphere of operation of the progress which the whole Empire was making towards an uniform, elaborate, and highly technical system of law and procedure. Perhaps the people would have been all the better for a simpler system suiting their simple wants and requirements. But as this could not be, and as the Province soon ceased to be "Non-Regulation" and became assimilated to the rest of the Empire in the matter of law and procedure, it became essential to have a duly qualified body of judges to administer the laws.

This the judiciary of the time was not. The old system of recruitment was in full force when the Public Service Commission sat and it was defended by some of the officers in their evidence before it. The much-needed reform came with the assumption of the Government of the Province by Sir Antony Macdonnel. By that time graduates in Arts and Law had begun to come out of the newly-established local Colleges and he utilized them in making his appointments in the judicial department. The reform thus initiated has gone on. The Civil judiciary has been completely separated from the criminal judiciary. Nobody is now appointed a Judge who is not a graduate in law. A similar rule is also generally observed in making appointments in the Executive Service. The result has been that we now very seldom here of corruption. The Judges now are also better-trained and better able to administer the law. If this system is rigidly maintained, as I earnestly hope it will be, I have no doubt the judiciary of the Central Provinces will at no distant date attain the high standard prevailing in Bengal and Bombay. There has been a corresponding improvement in the Bar.

Reform of
judicial service
by Sir Antony
Macdonnel.

On 24th January 1885, I received the following urgent telegram from the Chief Secretary to the Administration :—"Would you like to act for four months as Small Cause Court Judge, Nagpur. Pay One Thousand. Telegraph reply". This took me by surprise and also placed me in a somewhat embarrassing position. The post had till then been reserved for members of the Covenanted Service, and was not open to Indians. At the

Appointment
as Judge small
cause Court.

same time, I would, by accepting the appointment, lose pecuniarily and my practice would be dislocated. But considering that my acceptance might hereafter mean the throwing open of the post to my countrymen, I accepted it. Though appointed for four months, I was kept on nearly for two years. The work presented no difficulties. I not only knew all about the various phases of the litigation in the Small Cause Court but was also fairly well up in the details of the ministerial work. I made it a point to do all my work myself and rely as little as possible on my subordinates. I gave a general order to bring all applicants before me with their petitions as soon as they were presented, and I disposed of them at once, as far as that was possible. This somewhat increased my work, but, by keeping regular hours and by prompt and steady disposal, I was able to grapple with it. I had the satisfaction of smoothing the path of justice to the litigants, especially the poor among them. On reverting to the Bar, I found my old practice waiting for me.

Appointment
as Govern-
ment
advocate

In January 1888, I was appointed Government Advocate. My duties were principally those of a legal adviser to the Administration and I was besides to represent the local Government in Civil Cases in Nagpur and in important criminal cases, in which my services might be specially requisitioned. The office was a newly created one, and, though the remuneration offered was not in keeping with the duties to be discharged, yet, in view of the importance of the post, I accepted it. I found the work of considerable responsibility and at times exacting. But I never

failed to do it with the utmost care and punctuality. At the same time, I always gave my opinion in strict accordance with law and equity as I understood them and without regard for the susceptibilities of any particular person whose acts and measures I had to consider. I had occasionally to deal with cases of violation of law resulting from excess of executive zeal. My opinions, whatever the subject, carried weight. The following extract from a speech by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, at the time our Chief Commissioner, at a public meeting held at the Hislop College, Nagpur, on the 30th of August, 1890 would show that my work was valued :—"Let us by all means have a good Native Bar." "An institution which can boast such names as Telang in Bombay, or Romesh Chunder Mitter in Calcutta and let me add, as Bipin Krishna Bose in Nagpur, stands in no need of apologist or defender," (Nagpur and Berar Times, 6th September, 1890 page 3). Mr., now Sir Foster, Stevens, at one time our Judicial Commissioner and afterwards one of the Judges of the Calcutta High Court, thus wrote of me in one of his official letters, a copy of which was forwarded to me :—"Mr. Stevens thinks it very desirable that the Government should retain on any reasonable terms the services of so well-qualified and high-minded a practitioner as Mr. Bose for its most important legal business." (Letter No. 168, dated 15th January, 1896 from Registrar to Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.) I continued to hold the office till December 1899, when I had to resign it on my being appointed a non-official member for the Central Provinces

of the Governor-General's Council for making Laws.

Intellectual
activity
in Nagpur.

At Jubbulpore I used to help in the management of the local school, of which, as already stated, I was for a short time Headmaster. There was a small community of Brahmos, mostly Bengalees, in the place. Without enrolling myself as a member of the Samaj, I used to join in the devotions. I must confess, however, there was not much intellectual activity at Jubbulpore. It was quite different at Nagpur. I found the community, which was leavened with a considerable number of educated men from Bombay and Poona, occupying a much higher intellectual plane. There was at the time I came an influentially supported Debating Club with a public Library attached. I joined it and took an active part in all its proceeding. I remember my first set speech was on Mill's "Subjection of Women." I studied the subject with care and spoke with some notes to help me for an hour or so. On another occasion I read a paper on the growth and progress of moral ideas. In the discussion which followed Mr., now Sir Andrew,* Fraser took a leading part.

* Sir Andrew Fraser has recently died. The news of his death was received in this Country while our local legislative Council was in Session. I thus referred to the subject in a speech I made at its sitting on the 17th of March 1919, "The sad intelligence you have just communicated to us, has come to me as a shock. I knew Sir Andrew almost from the day of his arrival in these Provinces and I remained on terms of closest intimacy with him till he left India for good for his home beyond the seas. His warm sympathy for the people of these Provinces, his earnest solicitude for their good, and the whole hearted devotion he displayed in advancing their best interests, very early endeared him to them, and his after career only deepened the feeling of love and respect they felt for him....."

He advocated the theory of intuition as opposed to the utilitarian theory which I supported. In this way there was much of intellectual life in Nagpur and I was glad to have come to a place where I found many opportunities of making myself useful. There was an excellent High School managed by a Committee of Indian gentlemen and I soon joined the management. I used every Saturday morning to attend the school and teach the boys Mathematics and Physics, subjects, which had great attractions for me. I also made myself useful in helping to draw up representations to Government on public questions. Some important memorials were in this

"To us of Nagpur his memory is specially dear, as he passed the best part of his official career here among us. He was Sir John Morris's Secretary when in 1883, the constitution of the Municipal Committee was altered in accordance with the principles of Local Self-Government. He was his Chief's right-hand man in carrying out this beneficent policy. The Province will ever remember with the deepest gratitude his great and most successful fight against the devastating famine of 1899-1900. It was the year of the most grievous failure of crops throughout India within living memory and our Province was the hardest hit of all Provinces. And the measures of relief he introduced were as generous as they were far-reaching in their effect in combating the terrible havoc caused. And this policy, the key-note of which was to subordinate every other consideration to the supreme consideration of the saving of human life, he carried out in the teeth of opposition in high quarters where the opinion prevailed that utmost economy should be the governing principle of all famine relief, the chief among the high officers who held this opinion being Sir Antony (now Lord) Macdonnell. The result was an achievement of which any government might well be proud. It is a melancholy satisfaction to me that I, who knew him so well and was associated with him so closely in many of his good works, am able to-day to add my humble voice to the tribute that you, Sir, have paid to the memory of a great and good ruler of these Provinces."

Sir Andrew, in an article he published in the well-known American Weekly, "the Outlook," in August 1909 and

New C. P.
Tenancy
Law and
Land Revenue
Code.

way prepared by me. I may mention one or two. In 1880-81, a new Tenancy Law, superseding Act X of 1859, which at the time constituted the Law relating to the relations between landlords and tenants, was proposed for the Province. It was a most tangled measure and threatened to introduce some revolutionary changes, entirely breaking with the past. The leading Citizens of Nagpur, headed by Rao Sahib Madho Rao Chitnavis, father of my valued and intimate friend, Mr. G. M. Chitnavis, and Rao Bahadur Mukund Balakrishna Bootee, entrusted me with the task of drawing up a memorial on the subject, and I did so. Mr. A Howell, who was then Commissioner of Hoshangabad, thus wrote to me, "I am much obliged for the pamphlet, which seems a very clear, able and temperate statement of the case

a copy of which he sent to me, thus referred to our relations.

"Different in some respects has been my friendship with Sir Bipin Krishna Bose, the Government Advocate of the Central Provinces. Sir Bipin and I became known to one another over thirty years ago, when we were both young men in Nagpur. We became fast friends, as two Europeans might have done. He was a practicing lawyer, and I a Government officer. We had little work in common, but we had common tastes. We were first drawn together over the consideration of Mill's "Utilitarianism" in a literary society. After that we did a good deal of study and of social work together; and gradually we became close friends. I can not describe my feelings for him, or what I believe to have been his feelings for me, or our relations to one another, in any other language than that used in describing friendships in the West. I am unaware of any difference in kind between my friendship with Sir Bipin Krishna Bose and my friendship with one of my own countrymen. We have known each other's private concerns and secret thoughts; and we have trusted each other fully. We are still friends, though we are now far separated and can no longer enjoy the perfectly confidential talks we used to have about matters public or private which concerned us."

from the landlord's point of view." The soundness of some of my criticisms was admitted and the Bill modified. As the memorial was a somewhat one-sided document, written principally from the landlord's point of view, I drew up a note, putting the other side before the Government. Among other points, I advocated conferral on every tenant of a permanent, heritable, but not transferable, right of occupancy, subject to payment of fair rent. Mr., afterwards Sir Charles, Crosthwaite, who was at the time our Judicial Commissioner, acknowledged my note in the following terms :—

" My dear Mr. Bose, I am much obliged to you for your additional notes on the Tenancy Bill. I quite agree with all you say as to the five years' rule. It will be a ruinous measure. The problem is to secure the tenants from capricious ejection and from oppressive rents. I have thought about it a great deal and I am convinced that any rule which fixes a *period*, must work to the tenant's detriment." This was exactly the view I had put forward. I may mention here that the other day I was agreeably surprised to receive the following kind letter from Sir Charles, who is now in the Indian Council :—

" It is many years since we used to work together in the Central Provinces. I have watched your career with great pleasure and interest. I was certain that you ought to rise high not only on account of your ability but because of your scrupulous honour and integrity..... You will I trust keep your health and live to do much more work for your country."

I submitted several other notes during the

progress of the measures through its various stages. I also wrote the memorial of the Malguzars of Nagpur on the Bill to codify the Law relating to Land Revenue and the memorial of the people of Nagpur on the question of dismemberment of the Province. In various other ways I helped in the formation of a healthy public opinion, which while recognising the good the country was deriving from the present Government, attempted to criticise its measures in a spirit of fairness and moderation. In this I largely succeeded. Later on, I found in my esteemed friends, Mr. G. M. Chitnavis, Mr. Bapu Rao Dada and others, powerful and active coadjutors. The result has been satisfactory, at least to my mind. The spirit of acrimonious opposition, which elsewhere to our infinite misfortune prevents the maintenance of healthy relations between the rulers and the ruled, does not exist in Nagpur. How essential such a relation is for our ultimate good is seldom rightly realized. Our people are apt to forget that British rule in India is essentially a despotic rule, though our rulers, partly from motives of the highest benevolence and partly for reasons of far-seeing statesmanship, which aims at making that rule rest securely on the good will and willing submission of the people themselves, have given us some of the rights and privileges of a Constitutional Government. Such being the real position, it is in, my judgment, a mistaken and short-sighted policy to be always discussing government acts and measures, as if the Government is insidiously trying to take away with one hand what it has ostensibly given with the

other. Even if it were true, which I firmly believe it is not, that our Government is an organized hypocrisy, I question the expediency of proclaiming the fact in season and out of season. We loosen thereby the foundation upon which our rights rest. For once it is established that British rule is an unmitigated despotism, untempered by any consideration for the good of the people and resting solely on selfishness and greed of power and racial domination, all our security for fair dealing and just treatment at once melts into thin air. I therefore say that a heavy responsibility rests on those who profess to lead the nation,—on our news-papers and public men. How much it is to be desired that their sole guiding principle should be, not self aggrandisement, but immolation of self for the public good. I do not say or insinuate of any particular paper or person that it or he is not animated by such a high-souled motive. May be, the error, if any, is of the head and not of the heart. Nevertheless, it must be mournfully admitted that instances of selfishness are not so rare as one would fain wish. I can, for instance, mention some cases, which have come under my personal observation, of news-papers adopting a line of conduct which rather advances their pecuniary interest by adding to their popularity and to the list of subscribers than the interest of the community, and of our public men failing to act in co-operation and trying, on the contrary, to outbid one another in the struggle to win the first place. May be I am judging my countrymen by a standard higher than that which obtains elsewhere. It may be, if the standard I have set up

is applied to public men in other countries, in England for instance, they would be found subject to the same frailties as I have noticed in my own people. If so, I can only say in justification that ours is a peculiar case. We are a subject race struggling to win privileges from our rulers. We have no power behind us beyond the power of representation by memorials and public agitation. If this our only weapon is weakened by any false move, we lose the whole position. It is far otherwise in a free and self-governing country. We have thus to be more circumspect, a higher degree of self-restraint and self-abnegation is essential to our success. Further, though my field of action has lain in an obscure corner of India, yet some useful lessons may perhaps be drawn from my experience, however humble and limited. From the very commencement of my public life, I have striven to make as my guiding principle a policy of reasonable compromise of disputed and debateable questions, of moderation and sobriety in language and conduct when criticising and opposing government acts and measures and above all, of harmonious co-operation, where practicable, with officers of Government in all that concerns the public weal. The result has been that we in Nagpur have been able to attain in the various spheres of public activity in which we have been engaged during the past quarter of a century, a measure of success, which has by no means been inconsiderable. I believe the present unsatisfactory state of things will not last. Such friction as now exists was perhaps to some extent

unavoidable, The gift of the priceless treasures of English thought embalmed in the Literature of England has been her best and noblest gift to India. But it was inevitable that such a measure should awaken a new life and create new aspirations. For it was impossible that Indian youths should be fed on the noblest truths of modern thought and modern Science and not be influenced by them. This was fully foreseen by those great English Statesmen who gave English education to India. But such a sudden transition from a condition of stagnation to one of violent agitation is bound to produce as its temporary result an abnormal condition of affairs. And our rulers of the present day should not therefore lose faith in the noble and beneficent policy of their great predecessors and despair of its final success. Our people will soon come to realize that a policy of pin-pricks does not pay, that what has cost even Englishmen in England years of previous preparation and training to gain, cannot be had in a day by Indians in India, that Indian interests must to some extent be, as a matter of practical politics, subordinated to English interests and that perfect and absolute equality in everything, though an ideal to be striven for, is difficult of attainment under present conditions. When this knowledge comes, there will come along with it a condition of equilibrium and the present strained relations will then of themselves disappear. In the meantime, it behoves every true lover of his country to help to bring about a better understanding between the two communities. To retard even by a single word or deed the advent

of the happy day when they will understand one another better and see the good that is in both is not merely a blunder but a crime.

Appoinment
as Secretary
Neill City
High School.

I have already said I soon joined the Managing Committee of the local High School, now known as the "Neill City High School," after a popular officer of the Province. In 1876 I was appointed its Secretary and have held the office ever since. The School has grown and improved very largely within these 30 years, so that it is now acknowledged on all hands to be one of the best managed institutions in the Province. It was established in April 1869. In 1862, the department of education was first organized in the Central Provinces. Before that education in these parts had only a nominal existence, indigenous village Schools, where education of the most elementary type was given, were scattered here and there but even their number was limited. With the establishment of a special department, various measures were taken to create a desire for education and to call forth private enterprise as an auxiliary to the efforts of the State. It was at this juncture that at the initiation of the then Deputy Commissioner of Nagpur, Col. Fenton, some Indian gentlemen belonging to the Bombay Presidency, and who were then serving the Central Provinces Administration in various capacities, combined together to establish a school at Nagpur to impart education in English. They acted in co-operation with the gentry of Nagpur and from the very outset the school promised well. It was opened on the 1st of april 1869. It began with about 200 boys on its roll and with an income of

Rs. 190 per month, a portion of which was contributed by Government.

When I took over charge as Secretary to the Managing Committee, the Income was Rs. 4,920 per annum, of which the Government gave Rs. 2,280 as a grant-in-aid. The number on the roll was 261. At the present moment its annual income is a little less than Rs. 13,000, the Government grant having remained at its old figure of Rs. 2,280. The number on the roll is nearly 600 including the branches. On several occasions I tried to raise the status of the school so as to have two F. A. Classes. But unfortunately I could not secure the sympathy of our inspector General of Education, Mr. Browning, who apparently was disinclined to have a rival to his then newly established High School at Jubbulpore, which used to be largely fed by students from the Máráthi speaking districts.

In 1883, Sir John Morris, for nearly 15 years Chief Commissioner of the Province and who as Settlement Commissioner under Sir Richard Temple had helped to give to the people what proved or the whole a most beneficent Settlement, retired from service. There was a general feeling among the Indian community, especially at Nagpur, that something should be done to commemorate his long connection with the Province. The general trend of opinion was to found some scholarships in his name. The School Committee, however, saw in this an opportunity to bring into fruition their long-cherished desire to give Nagpur a College. The time was ripe for it. In fact it was scarcely to the credit either of

Establishment
of a College
at Nagpur.

the Government or of the people that the first city in the Province should be without a college of its own and that its students should have to travel to distant provinces in order to secure collegiate education. It was primarily the duty of the State to supply the want but the Education Department of the time thought that it had discharged its duty in this respect by raising the status of the Government school at Jubbulpore, to that of a collegiate school teaching up to the F. A. Standard. The members of the School Committee accordingly spoke to some of their friends urging them to utilize the opportunity of Sir John Morris's retirement to have a College at Nagpur. He had always taken an interest in the school and so it was pointed out that an educational institution after his name would be a fitting memorial of his administration. Those consulted agreed, and the lead was taken by Rao Bahadur Mukund Balkrishna Bootee. He undertook to bring forward the proposal before the public meeting which it had been arranged to hold at the Public Rooms on the 4th of December 1882 to decide about the form of the memorial. The proposition was duly moved and as a practical proof of his earnestness, Rao Bahadur Bootee promised a subscription of Rs. 5,000. He was followed by Rao Sahib Madho Rao Chitnavis with a promise of Rs. 3,000. Mr. Rambhaji Rao* Mahadik, then an Extra Assistant Commissioner and an ardent friend of education, subscribed Rs. 1,000. A pleader present undertook to raise Rs. 3,000

* Mr. Mahadik has left a legacy of Rs. nine thousand for the Neill City School. A scholarship after his name has been founded with it.

among the members of the Nagpur Bar. The contagion spread and a large sum was subscribed on the spot. The officers present, when they saw the earnestness displayed, accepted the proposal and promised it their hearty support. All the four divisions in the Province were appealed to for aid, but Jubbulpore and Hoshangabad, while agreeing to raise money for a College, decided to give their collections to the Government High School at Jubbulpore so as to raise it to the status of a College. The Nagpur and Chhattisgarh Divisions combined to have a fully equipped College at Nagpur. About one lac and three quarters were raised and invested in Government Securities. Liberal grants-in-aid were promised by the Government and the various local bodies in the two divisions and the establishment of the College with an efficient staff was sanctioned. To manage it, a Society of the subscribers was formed and registered under Act XXI of 1860. A governing body as required by the Act was constituted. I became its Secretary. The College was opened in June 1885.

After the establishment of the College, the question arose where to locate it. It was temporarily housed in a building kindly lent by the Bhosla Raja of Nagpur. But it was ill-suited for a College and was accepted only as a make-shift. The Neill High School was located in a part of a building, which formerly had been the residence of Maharanee Baka Bai of the Bhosla Raj family. It was on the whole in a dilapidated condition and part of it was occupied by the boarders of the Government Normal School.

The School Committee and the College Council applied to Sir Antony Macdonnel, then Chief Commissioner, to hand over the entire building to them for the purposes of the school and the college. He kindly complied. They then set about raising money to reconstruct the whole building so as to make it suit the wants of both the institutions. They got together about 16,000 rupees and with this, supplemented by a grant of Rs. 4,000 from the College funds, they reconstructed the whole building. I looked after the works myself, buying the materials direct from the people who made them and keeping accounts under my personal supervision. I had the satisfaction of seeing a fine house, substantially and economically built, ready in the course of a year and a half. This was in 1892-94. With the progress of time, however, the requirements have once more outgrown the accommodation available and it has become necessary to have an independent building for the college. The matter is under consideration. A college Hostel was also built. The money was raised under the auspices of Sir Andrew Fraser, then Commissioner of this Division. The Government also gave a grant of Rs. 5,000. In 1887 a law department was added to the college. I acted as Honorary Law lecturer during the first year. After that two paid lecturers were appointed.

The College after this had a rather chequered career. After basking in the sun-shine of official favour for about two years, it came to be looked upon by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, then our Chief Commissioner, as "a Manufactory for superfluous.

B. As." He proposed in a note dated 14th May 1887 to close it and utilise its trust-fund on an engineering school for training overseers and an agricultural school for training Patwaris and Revenue Inspectors. He gave to his scheme the rather high-sounding title of a scheme to promote Technical Education. Those, however, who had laboured and subscribed for the College, could not see their way to accept Sir Alexander's proposal and the result was that all Government and local fund grants, except that by the Nagpur Municipal Committee, were, under his orders, withdrawn and the College left to shift for itself. I wrote at the time an article in the local newspaper, "Nyaya Sudha," pointing out the objections to the Chief Commissioner's proposal and had a reprint of it widely circulated. It had, I believe, considerable effect in shaping public opinion. In spite of these adverse conditions, the College has continued to do useful work and many of its alumni are now in the public services of the Province. Fortunately for its future progress, the good work it had so long done with such inadequate resources and under so many difficulties, has attracted the attention of Government and it is about to receive substantial government aid to make it a first class institution. This is a great satisfaction to me. I had reviewed the history of the College in my speech at the sitting of the Supreme Legislative Council on 30th March, 1904 with a view to draw attention to the neglect of its duty by Government in the matter of collegiate education in the Central Provinces. I had said nothing about my

personal share in the work, as being wholly uncalled for. But Sir Andrew Fraser, who knew the facts and who occupied a seat in the Council as Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, in supporting my advocacy most generously spoke of me and my work in the following terms :—

“It was a great pleasure to me to listen to the story which my Hon’ble friend Mr. Bose had to tell us of the history of the Morris College in Nagpur. In respect of that College he tells us that some men “laboured hard and long.” I need hardly say this is Mr. Bose’s own modest way of hiding the fact that he, Mr. Bose, laboured hard and long for this College. The work which he did, the energy he put into it, the patience and the devotion with which year after year he laboured for this College, have now been crowned with success as I believe.” In letter No. 1140 dated 8th February, 1904 from the Second Secretary to Chief Commissioner to Government of India recommending substantial aid to the College, the following passage occurs,

“.....It is surprising that with such small funds at its disposal the College should have been able to maintain its existence. That it has done so is mainly due to the energy and enterprise of the Honourable Rai Bahadur Bipin Krishna Bose, C.I.E., who is Secretary to the College Council.”

On the promulgation of the Local Self-Government Resolution of Lord Ripon on 18th May, 1887, our then Chief Commissioner, Sir John Morris, began to devise means to give it full effect. He had, I believe, always been in favour of the policy which underlay the resolution. At Nagpur •

Introduction
of principle •
of Lord
Ripon’s Local
Self Govern-
ment •
in Nagpur.

in the month of February, 1883, he invited some of the leading citizens to meet him at the Public Rooms. I was one of those invited. He explained to the assembled gentlemen that his object in calling them together was to enquire of them if they were ready to co-operate with his government in giving practical shape to Lord Ripon's resolution. For his own part, he said, he was prepared to withdraw the official element from the local Municipal Committee and hand over its management to a non-official body, subject to official control from without. This was a surprise, though an agreeable surprise, to most of us. The matter was one of grave importance and demanded thoughtful consideration. For Nagpur is the premier town in the Province, the historic capital of the old Gond and Bhosla kings, the first in population, in wealth, in industrial enterprise; in fact in everything that marks a progressive town; and the administration of its municipal affairs is alike a great trust and a great responsibility. We had a hasty consultation and gave a reply to the effect that we would do our duty to the best of our ability. Sir John Morris then asked me whether I would accept the chairmanship of the new Committee. I replied that I would prefer some better-qualified person to be chairman. He then enquired whether I would like to be Vice-Chairman or Secretary. I agreed to be Secretary. These preliminaries being settled, we dispersed and a Government resolution changing the constitution of the Committee soon appeared. I helped the then Municipal Secretary, Mr. Obbard, who afterwards was for a short time

our Judicial Commissioner, to frame the new election rules. A few friends and myself formed ourselves into an informal Committee to choose qualified candidates for election and to help to get them elected. We had to adopt this course as there was then very little local public opinion in municipal matters such as has since come into existence, and the people could not be left to make wise selections, without some extraneous help. We were favoured with a large measure of success and the first Committee under the new rules was a really representative body, composed of practical men, respected by their neighbours and enjoying their confidence. As Secretary, it devolved on me to bring the new organization into working order and I threw myself into the task with a whole-hearted devotion. It was just the kind of work I wanted to make myself useful to those among whom my lot was cast, and, having got it, I did not spare myself. I was of course greatly helped by my friends, by men like Rao Bahadur Mukund Balkrishna Bootee, Mr. Gopal Hari Bhiday and Mr. Rambhaji Rao Mahadik. The last was the only official on the Committee and we specially asked for his services to be lent to us. He was one of us in every public matter. Though the work was new to us, we found that there was nothing in it which could not be soon learnt and we set to work with a firm determination to deserve, if we could not actually achieve, success. It was admitted in the official report that the work did not suffer at our hands. I think it was something more. I think our management was, taken all in all, better than

the management under the old *regime*. In view of their other multifarious duties, the Deputy Commissioner and the Assistant Commissioner in special charge were seldom in a position to give that close and constant attention to municipal work which was essential for its success. I do not deny that now and then an officer came, who took special interest in it; but, speaking generally, the real work was left in the hands of the paid permanent officials. A committee of earnest men, possessed of thorough local knowledge and acting under a full sense of responsibility and determined to justify the trust reposed in them, was bound to do better. I give below an extract from the official report about our first year's work :—"The duties of the Secretary have been performed and very ably performed, by Mr. Bipin Krishna Bose, one of the nominated members. An excellent report, which is forwarded herewith, has been submitted by this gentleman. The Chief Commissioner will be able to see for himself by a perusal of the report how well the functions of the Secretary have been discharged by Mr. Bose." (Review of Municipal Reports for 1882-84 by the Chief Commissioner). I held the office of Secretary for nearly two years, but though towards the close of my second year of office, a paid Secretary was appointed, I practically remained in charge except as to out-door works for a year more, during which time the new Secretary served his apprenticeship. Even after that for several years I did much of the important work of the Secretary. Since the appointment of Mr. G. M. Chit-

navis as President and Mr. Bapu Rao Dada as Vice-President, however, my work has been very much lightened. For they are devoted to their duties and have now thoroughly mastered all the details of the administration. I, of course, still give them such help as it is in my power to give. I am convinced that so long as Mr. Chitnavis and Mr. Bapu Rao remain at the head of the Municipality, the work will not only be well done but will show yearly progress in every direction. I have recently prepared a twenty years' review^t of our administration of municipal affairs since its re-constitution in April 1883 and I give its concluding para below :—

“This then is the record of the work of the past twenty years. Whether it has been well done or ill-done, the decision must rest with those competent to judge. It is only claimed on behalf of the Committee that it has been honestly and earnestly done and done with a sole eye to the public weal. But though much may have been done, much more yet remains to be done. For in this progressive age, there is no such thing as resting on one's oars. As time rolls on, new circumstances come into existence, which create new wants, demanding new remedial measures and these must be provided for, if we are not to be left behind. In fact, given the money and the opportunity, it is hardly possible to set any limit to the possibilities of improvement. But if any success is to be attained, strenuous labour must characterise and a spirit of devotion to the service of the public must animate the proceedings of all future Committees. But hard as they may .

strive, impatience of official control and rejection of official help and co-operation under a mistaken sense of independence, can never lead to success. Equally dangerous is a spirit of faction, an incapacity to throw one's mind into the "common stock" and a failure to realize that compromise is the *sine qua non* of success in all "business of joint counsel." The evolution of the present state of things has involved struggles with many difficulties, sacrifice of much hard-earned leisure and expenditure of much thought and it will be a thousand pities if what has been gained at so much cost be lost by want of wisdom or decadence of public spirit on the part of the Committees of the future. It is to be earnestly hoped that this may never be and that the next twenty years would show a better record of work done and responsibilities recognised."

As part of the scheme of Local Self-Government, District Councils to manage local funds were constituted at the same time that the Municipalities were popularised. I was nominated a member of the Nagpur District Council and am still on it. I cannot claim to have taken any special part in its work, though I have always attended its meetings with a fair degree of regularity. Much of the executive work of the Council is done by Government officials and its chief duty is to allocate funds for various works and to manage village schools.

Appointment
as member of
the Nagpur
District
Council.

On the 1st of June, 1888, the title of Rai Bahadur was conferred on me. The Administration's recommendation was, as stated in the official letter, based on my work as Government Advo-

cate and in connection with the Municipality. I can honestly say that not only had I never made the slightest attempt to secure the honour but my thoughts had never turned in that direction. There were only two Rai Bahadurs in the Province at the time and they were both men of great wealth and social status. It never entered my mind that the title would be given to a person like myself and its conferral was one of the greatest surprises of my life. I did not at once become aware of it as I had not looked at the Honours list. The news after it had appeared in the papers for some time, was brought to me one evening by my wife, who had heard of it at some friend's. I will not deny that the honour, coming as it did wholly unasked, gave me satisfaction. This was enhanced when I found that it gave pleasure to my old parents.

Appointment
as member of
the Provincial
Branch of the
Dufferin
Fund.

A branch of the Dufferin Fund was established at Nagpur in December 1886 and I was appointed a member of the Provincial Committee of the Fund. I am still a member. It is a matter of complaint elsewhere among my country-men that most of the money belonging to the Fund is spent on European Lady Doctors. In my Province, the funds are mostly spent in giving medical relief and in training midwives and female doctors of the status of hospital assistants.

Appointment
as member
of the
Dispensary
Committee.

I have been a member of the Dispensary Committee as a representative of the Municipality since its formation in 1892. It is a pleasure to me to work in harmonious co-operation with officers of Government in promoting works of public charity and public beneficence like our

Mayo Hospital and Dufferin Hospital and I have always taken a keen interest in them.

In 1893, I helped to form a Bar Association of the members of the Nagpur Bar. I am Secretary to the Association. I am trying to have a good Bar Library and have as a nucleus got together a number of useful books, some purchased and some presented to the Library. Many of the new members of the profession can not afford to buy costly law books and a Bar Library will be helpful to them, besides being helpful to all in the ordinary course of business in Courts.

Establishment of Bar Association and a Bar Library.

The seventh sitting of the Indian National Congress was held in Nagpur in December 1891. I was not one of those who had invited it. When, however, the final decision was arrived at, I joined my friends who were responsible for it and helped them as much as I could to give the distinguished visitors from various parts of India a fitting reception. I took charge of the sanitation and conservancy of the whole camp and of arrangements connected with the Bengal camp. I also supervised the camp where those who lived in European style, were housed. I did not speak at the Congress but prepared all the three speeches that were delivered by the Central Provinces delegates. They were read exactly as they were written by me, except that one of the speakers introduced in his speech a few sentences to give it a literary finish. All the three speakers are now dead. I may say that I was at the time Government Advocate, but the Government of Sir Antony Macdonnell made no

Seventh session of the Indian Congress.

objection to my taking part in the proceedings. Regarding my attitude towards the Congress movement, I heartily approve of its root idea, namely, to organise the various separate aggregations of Indian races and nationalities into a homogeneous compact whole, permeated by a common sentiment of patriotism and enabled by their united strength and wisdom to discuss and deliberate on matters affecting their common country with an authority such as can never belong to their individual and disjointed opinions. I also agree with many of the resolutions as appearing in the authorised reports. With some I am unable to agree. It will suffice to give a recent instance of this. At the last Session at Lahore, the Congress severely condemned the policy underlying the Punjab Land Alienation Legislation. I, on the contrary, consider that policy, apart from its details, to be on the whole a sound policy. I have witnessed these thirty odd years the sad results of clothing a backward race of landholders with absolute power of alienation over their estates. The doctrine of freedom of contract assumes an equality of intelligence, of status and of circumstances between the contracting parties, which, as a matter of fact, does not exist in the case of the Indian agricultural debtor and his creditor. Moreover, outside Bengal proper, this uncontrolled power of transfer is opposed to the genius and traditions of the people. Their own law (Mitakshara) has surrounded the enjoyment of family estates with a number of safeguards, all directed to keep them intact so as to permit of their devo-

lution in the family generation after generation. And although, within recent years, there have been many inroads on this law by our Judges, its main provisions still retain their original vitality. So that if I had my way, I would have strengthened and not weakened the hands of Government in this matter.

In January 1892, a Cotton Mill, wholly financed by local capital and organised by local enterprise, was opened in Nagpur. Nagpur is one of the principal cotton centres. As far back as 1876, a cotton mill had been established here by that great Captain of Industry in India, the late Mr. Jamsetjee N. Tata. It achieved a phenomenal success under its most able Manager, Mr. Bezongjee Dadabhoy. It took the people of Nagpur many years to learn the lesson of this success and it was not until 1890, that some of its leading citizens, such as the late Rao Bahadur Mukund Balkrishna Bootee and Mr. Gopal Harry Bhiday, and Messrs G. M. Chitnavis, Ganpal Rao Ghatatay, Bapu Rao Dada and Rajarampant Dixit, were able to establish a limited Company to work a cotton mill. The fact of the matter is, the available capital of the country is not enough for the requirements of its full industrial development. I do not deny that there is a considerable amount of money invested in trade. But it earns a good return and there is no incentive to employ it in new enterprises involving risks. Similarly, a certain amount of money is locked up in money-lending business. It also earns a good interest. Beyond these, there is not much surplus seeking profitable investment. I am of course speaking

Cotton
Swadeshi
Mill.

of my province. Such being the case, it is not an easy matter to raise sufficient capital to start and work a business like a large cotton manufacturing factory. However, after a great deal of effort, my friends succeeded in opening the "Swadeshi Mill" about the same time that the Congress was in session in Nagpur. Besides acquisition of pecuniary gain, my friends had a higher object in view,—promotion of local industries. There was a significance in opening this mill just when the Congress was being held in Nagpur. It was to emphasise the truth, which is now realized by the Congress leaders, that industrial development must go hand in hand with political advancement. For years the whole energy of the Congress leaders has been directed to political agitation and political agitation alone. It is a wise resolution to conserve at least a portion of this energy for, as I think, a very useful, though less showy object,—namely, the development of our industries. I think we can do a great deal for ourselves by directing our energies to this object as also in expanding our trade and commerce. The field of employment in the public services is, I am afraid, not likely to expand very substantially in the future, do what we like, and it will be a wise policy for us to take to helping ourselves and to rely less on Government. For example, how much the wealth of the country could be increased, if we supplied all our wants in the matter of cloth with our home-products. In this we must not expect to be much helped by Government, for its policy in this matter must be dictated from England, and in the English

Development
of industries
as part of the
activities of
Congress.

Parliament the cotton spinners and weavers exercise a potent influence. Government is thus never likely to kill the English trade in cotton fabrics in order to develop Indian manufactures. So that to succeed we must depend entirely on our own efforts and this is a direction in which our energies are more likely to be productive of substantial good than in holding crowded meetings and passing strong resolutions supported by eloquent speeches, which are more or less negligible factors in the industrial progress of the country.

When I first came to Nagpur, I found an organization for encouraging the use of home-made articles. It received its inspiration from Poona, where Ganesh Vasudeo Joshi had just then vigorously started the movement. There is in Nagpur a class of blacksmiths who at one time used to make fine cutlery. These men were taken in hand and induced to turn out knives and scissors, which were purchased with the help of a fund specially raised for the purpose and then sent out for sale in different parts of the country. Attempts were also made to improve the rude implements used by our weavers with a view to cheapen the production of their looms. I regret to say both these movements did not attain the measure of success they deserved. But one good resulted, the attention of the people was drawn to the necessity of encouraging our home industries by using their products as much as possible. I entirely sympathised with this policy. I have during the past 25 years and more done what I could to carry it out in my daily

Indigenous
industries in
Nagpur.

life.* I have succeeded to a considerable extent in the matter of cloth. I am glad to find my countrymen rapidly coming to realise how much they can help to develop our industries by using as much as possible indigenous articles. I have not much faith in the practical wisdom of the rigid doctrine of Political Economy that we should buy in the cheapest market. I look round and find that no nation in the world has ever consistently regulated its fiscal policy in strict accordance with this doctrine. Even England, which is now a free trade country, did not hesitate to kill the rival manufactures of India by a wall of protective tariffs, when she was unable to compete with them in her own market on terms of equality. Our salvation lies in relieving the increasing pressure of population on agriculture by supporting and improving our ancient handicrafts and by introducing new industries, which will afford a subsistence independent of agriculture. As regards the most important of our existing indigenous industries, namely, the hand-weaving of cloth, it is quite possible to revive some portion at least of its former prosperity if we all combine to use its products. Manufactures produced by modern processes are no doubt a formidable rival ; but our weavers are able to thrive on small profits and are better circumstanced to cater for

* This was written in 1905 and it is a great satisfaction to me to read the following in Sir Stanley Reid's letter to Mr. Gandhi, which has been recently published in a Bombay paper. "Personally I never buy any thing which is made outside India if it can be purchased in India. I wear a good deal more Swadeshi clothing than many of my Indian friends." What a sad commentary this on our loudly preached Swadeshimism.

precise wants and tastes of their country-men. With these advantages to help them, they may yet be able to compete successfully with imported machine-made articles, if systematic efforts be made to bring them and their customers face to face, as it were, by opening out stores and shops to sell their products all over the country. Attempts are being made to introduce an improved class of fly-shuttle. If this proves successful, it ought largely to neutralise the advantages which machine-made articles now possess over hand-made articles. The hand-weavers with their dependents still number nearly six crores and a half and it is a matter of grave concern not only for ourselves but also for the government whether these men should be driven to agriculture after a prolonged period of grinding poverty, or whether action should not be taken, while there is yet time, to better their position in their own craft by improving their methods and machinery and by creating suitable markets for their goods.

Hand-made
cloth industry.

In 1896, the rains failed in the Central Provinces as in other parts of India and by October it became abundantly clear that the country was in for a disastrous famine. It became most acute in some parts of the Central Provinces owing to a succession of bad harvests going as far back as 1892-93. In Nagpur itself, the failure of crops was not severe, though owing to the great rise in the level of prices, there was much distress among the respectable poor and the lower wage-earning classes. But in the neighbouring districts of Balaghat and Bhandara, their staple crop, rice,

Great famine
in the Central
Provinces.

Opening of
Poor House
in Nagpur by
private effort,
and appoint-
ment as its
managing
member .

had been almost completely wrecked and as no relief-works had been opened by Government, the starving people began to wander about the country in search of food. A great many of them came to Nagpur and swarmed all over the place. To relieve them, public subscriptions were invited and over Rs. 13,000 were raised. In November 1896, a Committee was appointed to administer this money and I was made Treasurer. It was decided to open a Poor House and as the working member of the Committee, it fell to me to make all necessary arrangements. A site was selected just outside the town and sheds put up. I had also to work the Institution, when opened. The Government lent us a Tehsildar and a Hospital Assistant to act as Superintendent and Medical officer respectively, so that we were able to utilise the whole of our money in feeding and clothing the miserable starvings. I gave a goodly portion of my time to perfect the various arrangements and had the satisfaction of making the institution a model Poor House, which relieved but did not repel those for whom it was meant. It was favourably commented upon by newspaper correspondents, who travelled all over the affected tracts and sent reports to their employers. I give below an extract regarding it from Mr. Merewether's book on Famine. He was sent to India by a Syndicate of English newspapers and made a tour all through the famine-stricken tracts :—

“The institution is certainly the best of its kind that I have visited, either before or after, and may serve as an excellent example to similar places in the provinces of Central India.....The whole is

run entirely by natives. The total cost per month did not exceed Rs. 1,600, and as there were over 1000 recipients of relief, it can be seen how far, with good administration, a small sum judiciously expended, will go towards alleviating the sufferings of a starving Hindu population. I produce opposite the balance sheet of the Institution for the month of December 1896, which will corroborate my statement." (Through the Famine Districts in India, page 102.) Here follows my abstract cash account. I may add I had never met the gentleman and was not in the Poor House when he was there.

By December 1896, distress had deepened and Government relief had begun to be given, but the Nagpur Poor House remained in our charge till 31st March, 1897. In January 1897, an "Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund" was opened both in India and in England under the auspices of Government. To administer it, a Central Committee was formed at Calcutta with branches in all the affected Provinces. The Central Provinces branch was constituted at a public meeting held on the 13th of February, 1897. I was asked to be the Secretary to the Provincial Committee. Our Province was one of the most grievously, if not the most grievously, affected in the whole empire and to be the Secretary to the Fund in such a Province was to undertake a heavy responsibility. I hesitated a good deal but the terms in which the offer was made were an encouragement to me and I finally decided to devote myself to the work and do my best. I helped in organizing Committees in every one of

Establishment
of a branch of
the Indian
Famine
Charitable
Relief Fund
for the C. Ps.
Appointment
as its
Secretary.

our 17 affected districts, framed and issued rules on the basis of instructions received from the Central Committee, supplementing them to suit our local peculiarities, and in consultation with the District Committees laid down our plan of action. Though not formally appointed Secretary I also took it upon myself to do much of the work of the Nagpore local Committee. The work proved more heavy than I had thought it would but it roused my highest enthusiasm and became with me a labour of love. I practically laid aside all other business and gave myself up, heart and soul, to this noble and sacred work of charity. I had seldom been so happy in my life. I felt a glow of self-satisfaction such as no other work had given me before, and the more I worked the more satisfied I felt. I personally distributed cloth in and about Nagpur and to witness the smile, tinged with a touch of melancholy, which used to overspread the pale and sickly faces of the poor sufferers as they changed their miserable rags for the clean and decent clothes I was able to give them, more than repaid the trouble the work might have entailed. One great object I steadily kept in view was to reduce the incidental charges to a minimum, so as to set free as large a portion of the Fund as possible for actual relief. I myself did my office work with the help of one clerk on Rs. 25 a month and my colleagues in the District Committees were equally economical and co-operated with me with a wholehearted devotion. The result was that in no other province, I believe, was the work better done or more largely done by non-official agency. I

give below the concluding paragraph of one of my reports :—

“I have thus endeavoured to give some idea how Committees of zealous private workers, distributed all over the stricken districts, are, with the active aid and advice of officers of Government, engaged in this beneficent work of helping those who are struggling to hold on till this great famine subsides, and who, but for such help, will pay a heavy tribute to death, before this bitter • page in the history of the Province is closed. It will be the privilege, as it will be the bounden duty, of these Committees to be the channels through which the fertilizing stream of this unprecedented charity will spread over the whole Province, carrying with it relief to thousands of widows and orphans left destitute by the death or disappearance of their bread-winners, and to that large and important class of the community, peasant cultivators, who have been forced to eat their seed-grain and part with their plough-cattle to save life, and who unless helped, will not be able to recover from the blow they have received.”

Regarding my share of the work I give below the following extract from the Government Report of the Famine in the Central Provinces :—

“An account of the administration of Famine Relief in the Central Provinces during 1897 would be incomplete which did not acknowledge the enormous assistance rendered by the operations of the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund. These operations were described in detail in the report written by the able and devoted Honourary • Secretary to the Provincial Committee, Rai Bahadur

B. K. Bose, C. I. E. and it is unnecessary here to do more than summarise them."

Conferral of
the title of
C. I. E.

On the 1st of January 1898, the title of C. I. E. was conferred on me in recognition of my services in connection with the Charity Fund. This time I knew what was coming. I do not, like some of my country-men, look upon appreciation of one's services by Government as something not worth having. I can honestly say that I have never at any period of my life worked in order to secure such approbation or such honour. The aim of my life has been, I flatter myself, something higher and nobler. Looking back, I should despise myself now, when age and the sorrows of this life have dulled any ambition that might once have lurked in me, if I had to confess that the main-spring of my actions had been, not an altruistic desire to be useful to my countrymen, but a selfish ambition to clothe myself with wordly honours, whether it be at the hands of Government or of my countrymen. For in my estimation, the two stand exactly on the same moral level. I received a large number of congratulatory letters both from officials and non-officials. My fellow citizens at a public meeting showed their satisfaction at the honour done to me by voting me an address. I must say these demonstrations do not fit in with my ideas of public duty. I had on some previous occasions successfully combated similar attempts on the part of kind and indulgent friends to bring me before the public. This time, however, the pressure was so strong that I could not decline without being positively rude, especially as the

meeting was also intended to do honour to two other citizens, who had been given titles. I give below a few extracts from the address, " We, the residents of Nagpur, in public meeting assembled, feel it our duty to express our high appreciation of the valuable services you have rendered to the Province..... From the time you have come to live amongst us, now over 26 years ago, you have always taken a lively interest and active part in every moment, which had for its object the promotion of the good of the people.Such in brief are your labours for the public good, and when to your high character for integrity and probity and your talents and energy, we add such urbanity of manners and width of sympathy as impels you to place your valuable advice within the reach of every towns man who might need it, we feel we shall be wanting in our duty if we fail to acknowledge your services."

In December 1897, the Government decided upon the appointment of a Famine Commission to formulate for future guidance the lessons which the famine experience of 1897 had to teach. I was asked by my Chief Commissioner, Sir Charles Lyall, to be a member of the proposed Commission. I hesitated for some time on account of my health. I had been a victim, since my College days, to dyspepsia of a rather distressing character. It had greatly weakened my constitution and I was only able to keep myself in a workable condition by very careful attention to diet and regular habits. I was in doubt whether I should be physically equal to the strain which the acceptance

Appointment
as Member
of Indian
Famine
Commission,
1898.

of the offer would entail. My dear brother was with me at the time. The seeds of the fell disease which carried him off two years afterwards, had, unknown to us all, already been sown in him, and he had come to Nagpur to recoup his health, which had been much shattered by his arduous famine work as the head of the district of Rajshahi in Bengal. He strongly advised me to accept the office and I did so. I was the only Indian member on the Commission and I deeply felt the responsibilities of my position. I was then engaged in bringing to a close the accounts of the Charity Fund and in writing its final report. I worked day and night and by the first week of January I was able to bring my work as Secretary to the Charity Fund to a close. I joined the Commission at Calcutta on the 8th January 1898. It may not be out of place to relate here one incident of my journey from Nagpur to Calcutta. The plague had broken out then and according to the policy of the day, there was strict medical examination of passengers at certain railway stations. I had provided myself with certificates that I was coming from Nagpur, which was a non-affected locality at the time and that I was going on official duty, viz, to join the Famine Commission. I was in a First Class Compartment. At mid-night, I was unceremoniously made to get up and come out of the carriage and subject myself to medical examination. The examining doctor was an European and despite my papers, he gave me the most insulting treatment. I knew the futility of remonstrance and had to submit to his insolence and rudeness. I mention this

incident to show that even assuming the policy was right, the manner in which the men entrusted with the duty of giving effect to it carried it out, was ill-calculated to reconcile the people to it. After-experience demonstrated the utter futility of the procedure and this adds to the impolicy of entrusting the work to unsympathetic men, incapable of entering into our feelings and of realizing the difficulties and inconveniences of our position under the peculiar circumstances of the case. I saw the treatment meted out to third class passengers. It was sickening and enough to chill one's heart. The President of the Commission was Sir James Lyell, late Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab. A large number of blue books relating to famines and other cognate subjects were placed at my disposal on my arrival at Calcutta and to qualify myself for the duties of my office, I at once began a careful study of them. The Commission took evidence at Calcutta up to the 25th of January, the witnesses being mostly on the subject of export and import of food-grains during times of famine and of food-stocks in the country which could be drawn upon during years of short crops and failure of crops. From Calcutta we went to Bankipur, Behar being one of the affected tracts. I put up with the late Babu Guru Prasad Sen and I shall always remember his kind hospitality. We were at Bankipur for about ten days and much of my spare time was spent in discussing with him various public matters including those relating to famine relief. I profited much by coming in close contact with a mind so thoughtful and so full of valuable information. The famine relief opera-

tions in Behar were mostly run through the members of the planter community and they were the principal non-official witnesses. It struck me rather forcibly that owing no doubt to the existence of this powerful body, less reliance was placed on Indian agency here than elsewhere. It did not seem to me that the relief operations were better or more economically conducted than where Indian agency was more largely availed of. I rather think the planters were more highly remunerated than need have been and there was no compensating advantage to justify the utilisation of this agency to the neglect of the other. In some instances, roads which specially benefitted them and their estates were made by them with famine labour. From Bankipur we went to Madras, which I reached on the 11th of February. The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Ananda Charlu, then a member of the Viceroy's Council, kindly gave me permission to put up in his house and his son was most attentive to my comforts. The hard work of the Commission and the wear and tear of the journey made it impossible for me to make the acquaintance of any of the leading men at Madras. The Commission generally broke up in the evening and after a drive to the beach, I had to return home and engage myself with the next day's work. The mornings were also wholly taken up in studying blue-books and advance copies of the evidence of the witnesses. I could with difficulty manage to take a hurried meal and be present at the sitting at 11 A. M. The Council Chamber where we met, was nearly an hour's drive from where I stayed. From Madras we went to

Bellary, which was one of the worst centres. The great feature of relief in Madras was the higher wage given to carriers as compared with the wage given in the N. W. Provinces by Sir A. P. Macdonnell. The Madras officers, especially the medical men there, were strongly opposed to the adoption of the N. W. P. wage for carriers as enough to maintain the workers in health and strength and they did not adopt it. Another of their special features was the relief given to the weavers in their own trade instead of making them work in the uncongenial and unprofitable task of stone breaking and digging and carrying earth. I was familiar with this kind of relief in Nagpur and was strongly impressed with its utility and propriety. I followed the evidence of the Madras witnesses on this matter with the closest attention. My host at Bellary was Rao Bahadur P. C. Ananda Charlu, Government Pleader and a most obliging host he was. From Bellary we entered the Bombay Presidency. Our first sitting was held at Bijapur on the 25th of February. This was the centre of a badly affected tract. It has some fine historic buildings, constructed by the old Mahomedan rulers of the place. These had mostly been turned into private residences of officers or were used as public offices. It is due to Lord Curzon that this misuse of the relics of a historic past has to some extent been amended. I was the guest of Mr. G. D. Panse, a statutory Civilian and Magistrate-Collector of the District. I need not say he was all kindness to me. Our next sitting was at Sholapur. The plague was raging there then. Thence we went to Bombay, where we

stayed up to the 5th of March. Arrangements had been made by common friends that I should be put up by the late Mr. Justice Ranade. To be privileged to come in contact with that great and good man, the saintly philosopher and the greatest economist of modern India, was indeed a piece of good fortune, for which I cannot be too thankful to those who had arranged to bring it about. I had, from what I had heard of him, learnt to revere him and personal contact only deepened my veneration for him. As at Madras, I had hardly time to go and see my countrymen, but at my host's I was able to meet some of the best men of Bombay. I need hardly say I profited much by these meetings. The good lady of the house, Mrs. Ranade, was all kindness to me and I shall never forget her hospitality. We had the usual run of witnesses, but the special feature of charitable relief in Bombay was the institution of cheap grain-shops. These were started by some Indian merchants and food grains were sold through their agency to the poor and needy at cheap rates, such as prevailed at ordinary times. I arranged with the help of friends whom I met at my host's, to have evidence on this system of relief placed before the Commission. From Bombay the Commission came to my Province. The first sitting was at Nagpur, the next at Raipur and the last at Jubbulpore. I had a somewhat difficult task here. There can be no question that the gravity of the situation was not realized, or if realized, was not grappled with at the right time and to the necessary extent. The official mind could not bring itself to believe.

that the Central Provinces which had not known a general failure of crops for years past and which had prospered much under the impulse of the Settlement of Sir Richard Temple, could be in the throes of a real devastating famine. In fact Mr. (now Sir Bampfylde) Fuller, for long Settlement Commissioner of the Province and then Commissioner of Jubbulpore, the worst affected division, put forward the view very strongly that the "Revenue assessments were so extraordinarily light that large savings must have accrued, that the people were well able to meet the failure of crops and that State relief was not needed to any large extent." This view, owing to the supposed extensive local knowledge of its author, was probably accepted. Any way matters were allowed to drift. The result was an appalling mortality in some of the worst districts which startled both the officials and the public. The opinion I formed on reading through the papers was that the Government of India was to some extent, at least, responsible for this sad state of things and that the entire responsibility could not be thrown on the Local Government. The member in charge of famine was at the time Sir Antony Macdonnell. He was, before he joined the Viceroy's Council, our Chief Commissioner and was generally as well informed about the condition of the people as his two successors, Sir John Woodburn and Sir Charles Lyell, and he probably shaped the policy of the Government of India according to what he thought were the requirements of the Province. Perhaps Mr. Fuller's views exercised considerable influence. The

severity of the distress was minimised and the staying power of the people exaggerated and relief was kept within narrow limits. I have already alluded to the flooding of Nagpur by the famished people from Bhandara and Balaghat and to the opening of a Poor House for them by private charity. The same was the case at Jubbulpore. These Poor Houses should have been Government institutions from the very beginning. Moreover, relief works should have been opened locally to prevent the distressed people from leaving their homes in search of relief. Of course this much must be conceded that it was the duty of those on the spot to recommend and press for the necessary relief and the Supreme Government could hardly have been expected to sanction more liberal measures than the Local Administration wanted. It was very painful to me to join in the condemnation of the Government of my own Province, but the facts disclosed made any other course impossible. From the Central Provinces the Commission went to the North Western Provinces where we visited in succession Jhansi, Agra and Lucknow. Taken as a whole, the administration of famine relief here was no doubt a success ; but I thought that the adoption of the diet prescribed for those, who owing to their debilitated condition, were to be maintained in idleness in Poor Houses as the wage to be allowed to those who had to earn it by carrying earth, was not in accordance with the principle that the wage was to be such as would suffice to maintain the workers in health and strength after doing a task adapted to their powers. For the

time being, the effect of this wage did not manifest itself in the mortality returns, for it was just enough to keep body and soul together. But the census of 1901 disclosed that the loss of population in such badly affected districts as Jhansi, Allahabad &c, had been very heavy, as heavy as in the worst parts of the Central Provinces. Some missionary witnesses examined at Agra also spoke of heavy mortality within their knowledge. Further the death-rate became abnormally high immediately after the close of Government relief and continued so till the end of the year. On the whole I was convinced that to place economy before preservation of life was not the right famine relief policy and this had apparently been done in the North Western Provinces. The extraordinary power of organization of the head of the Government and his ceaseless vigilance aided by the very substantial help from the Charity fund neutralised to a great extent the consequences of such a policy. But as it is not in the nature of things for every famine to have a Sir Antony to combat its disastrous effects, the principle adopted by him to give the general body of workers what I may call the starvation wage is, in the long run, not the right policy, if the object of famine relief be to maintain the people in good condition and to send them back to their homes and usual occupations after the close of State relief with their health and strength unimpaired. I urged these considerations on the Commission when we met to deliberate at Simla later on and I flatter myself with some effect.

• From Lucknow we went to Lahore. The distress

was by no means severe in the Punjab and our labours were not protracted. By the first week of April we assembled at Simla to deliberate on the voluminous evidence and the official papers placed before us, to formulate our conclusions and write our report. I think it was right that the report should have been written at a hill station like Simla. In no other place would it have been possible at that time of the year to go through the labour which its preparation involved. Simla, with its bracing climate, was best fitted for the work we had in hand. I brought my family to Simla. This gave me home comforts and I devoted myself to the task before me with an earnest desire to be helpful to the Commission to the best of my powers. We did not lose time in taking our work in hand. The heads of the subjects to be dealt with in the report were settled and the work of writing notes on them was divided among the President and the members. The notes thus prepared were circulated and commented upon by all and then put in print at once. We met twice a week to consider these notes and comments and the results of our deliberation and decisions were embodied in fresh notes prepared by the members concerned. These were again placed before the Commission and finally passed with or without modifications. By the first week of July, the report was completed and I left Simla on the 11th of July 1898. In Sir James Lyell, we had a President, who had the keenest sympathy with the unfortunate sufferers from famine and the key-note of the report was that not only should life be saved but that the

measures of relief should be so regulated as to enable the people to go back to their homes and ordinary occupations with their health and strength unimpaired. A campaign against famine which on grounds of economy failed to give adequate relief as measured by the above standard, could not, in the opinion of the Commission, be regarded as a success. I may mention here in passing that the spirit which animated the report was translated into action in the famine of 1900 in the Central Provinces. And if the salvation of the people be the great object of famine relief, then I can say with the utmost confidence that the success attained in combating this grievous famine, more grievous than that of 1896-97, was such as had never before been attained in any famine, not excluding that in the North Western Provinces in 1896-97. A special note prepared by me dealing with the question of relief to that most important class of the community, the agriculturists, as distinguished from ordinary village labourers, was appended to the report. Though I had gathered some experience regarding famine relief in my capacity as Secretary to the Charity Fund, yet the matters which the Commission had to consider were so foreign to the ordinary run of my studies and occupations that I felt very diffident at the beginning. I, however, applied myself to the work with a whole-hearted determination to grapple with all its difficulties and I may fairly claim to have been of some help to the Commission. The following letter was very kindly addressed to me by my President at the close of our labours :—

"I write a line to acknowledge receipt of your "note of the 12th. The obligation is all on my "side. You undertook more of the work than "most of us and treated your subjects most care- "fully and judicially. I often found your support "very valuable and we generally accepted such "modifications as you suggested."

Second
great famine
in the C. Ps.

Scarcely had the Province recovered from the effects of the famine of 1896-97, when the complete failure of the monsoon of 1899, overwhelmed it in another and a more grievous famine. As in 1897, His Excellency the Viceroy determined to appeal to the public for aid. I was then in Calcutta as an Additional Member of Council and was asked to be a speaker at the public meeting to inaugurate the Charitable Relief Fund. The meeting was held at the Town Hall on the 16th of February 1900. I carefully prepared a speech compressing within the small compass of time allowed to each speaker as much matter as I could with a view to give an adequate idea of the terrible state of things then prevailing in the Central Provinces and to show the incalculable good the Charity Fund had done in the previous famine. Its miseries I had seen and every word I spoke came from my heart and was instinct with the intense feeling which old memories revived. A few days after this, I received a wire from the Chief Secretary asking me to be once more Secretary to our Provincial branch of the organization. I agreed as a matter of course and immediately set about preparing statements of our requirements for submission to the Central Committee. As I was appointed a member of

this Committee, I was able personally to press the urgent claims of my province. The work, though by no means less arduous than in 1897, nearly thirty lakhs of rupees passing through my hands as against thirty-three lakhs in 1897, did not present the same difficulties, as the experience of the past enabled me to grapple with details with ease. I quote a passage from one of my reports to give an idea of the good the Fund did :—

• “It was a divine mission which the Fund undertook to carry out,—to heal the bruised and help the broken-hearted. Its kindly hand lifted from the depths of deepest destitution thousands, sons and daughters of misery, over whose future famine had cast its deepest shadow. Every rupee subscribed had carried its blessings with it to some poor and helpless sufferer. A mere enumeration of the numbers relieved will give but an inadequate idea of the incalculable good that has been done. For the hope that has been infused into the hearts of the people, for the opportunity they now have to build up once more the fabric of their prosperity, they are no less indebted to the noble Charity Fund than the help they received from the State Fund.”

When that good Sovereign, the Empress Victoria, the author of the noble Proclamation which constitutes for us our *Magna Charta* died in January 1901, a wave of deep loyalty passed over the length and breadth of the Empire. A desire sprang up all over the country to raise memorials to her. We in Nagpur thought that the memorial should be personal and should also

Victoria
Memorial
in Nagpur.

take such a shape as would associate her glorious reign with some work of acknowledged public utility. We accordingly decided, (1st) to have a marble statue and (2ndly) to have an institution for the promotion of industries and agriculture. I was appointed Secretary to the Provincial Memorial Committee. We raised about two lakhs and I was able to add to this about 16,000 as interest by judicious investment. We invested one lakh as a permanent Trust Fund, paid Rs. 75,000 for a building for the proposed "Technical Institute" and set apart Rs. 16,000 for a statue. The balance left will be added to the Trust Fund. Arrangements will be made in the "Institute" to teach science up to the highest University standard to the students of our two local colleges, the Morris and the Hislop. To administer the affairs of the "Institute," a Society has been formed and registered under Act XXI of 1860. I helped to frame its rules and am on its governing body as a member.

Establishment
of Victoria
Technical
Institute.

On the 22nd of November 1899, I received the following letter from Mr. (afterwards Sir Denzil), Ibbetson, my Chief Commissioner: "The Hon'ble Mr. Chitnavis's term of office as member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council expires early in December and His Excellency desires me to ask you whether you are willing to take up his placeI have felt not the slightest hesitation (and I may tell you Mr. Fraser entirely agrees with me) in selecting you as by far the fittest man for the office. It is true you are not a native of the Province. But in the course of many years, residence in Nagpur, you have won the respect,

Appointment
as additional
member of
the Council
of the
Governor
General.

esteem and confidence of all classes of society and I am sure your appointment will be unanimously approved."

In 1895, the Government had asked the local bodies in the Central Provinces to recommend four persons, one for each division, to enable it to make a nomination out of the persons so recommended to a seat on the Legislative Council as Additional member. I had then been advised by some friends to stand as a candidate for election. But I was of opinion that my friend Mr. G. M. Chitnavis was better fitted to fill the office and at the meeting of the delegates from the local bodies in the Nagpur Division, I was able by my casting vote as Chairman of the meeting to get Mr. Chitnavis elected as the nominee of the Nagpur Division. The nomination was accepted by Government and the ability and wisdom with which Mr. Chitnavis discharged his duties fully justified our choice. That I should be called upon to succeed him was a complete surprise to me. I accepted the offer so kindly made. This involved my resignation of the office of Government Advocate, as I could not be a non-official member while retaining an office under Government. My appointment was notified on 19th December 1899 and I took my seat on 22nd idem. My first speech was in support of an amendment in connection with a Bill to amend the Whipping Act, 1864. It was a small measure, but some of its provisions seemed to us, the non-official members, to be rather too severe and so we tried to have them modified. We failed. The subject to which I gave my attention during this my first session

**The O. P.
Land Revenue
Settlement in the
Council.**

was the new Settlement in my Province. A cycle of lean years had synchronised with its introduction and enforcement and the people were on the brink of bankruptcy. But beyond some temporary relief in the shape of suspension and remission of revenue and that too given in a somewhat niggardly spirit, nothing as far as the public could know, was being done to meet the grave crisis. I studied all the available reports relating to the economic situation for thirty years since the old Settlement, and with the facts and figures thus obtained, supplemented by my own experience, I prepared with care a speech or rather a statement dealing with the whole subject. The remedies I suggested were, (1) a revision with a view to abatement of the new assessments in all tracts where the deterioration had been severe, (2) introduction of irrigation, especially tank irrigation in rice districts, for which facilities existed in many places and (3) introduction of agricultural banks to help the agriculturists with money on fair terms, the Government giving special facilities to such banks in return for their undertaking to lend money on terms approved by Government. This was my contribution to the discussion on the Budget, the only occasion when the non-official members are permitted to deal with general matters. We, the non-official members, had a previous consultation on the subject of Land Revenue Settlement and it was agreed that we should all deal with it each in his own way as affecting his Province. I received special support from two of my Indian colleagues. The Maharaja of Darbhanga of Bengal said, "In the

first place I would ask permission, my Lord, to say a few words with regard to the question of Land Settlement, and I would direct my remarks more particularly to the Central Provinces and Assam. It has been a pleasure to me to listen to the interesting speech of my Hon'ble friend, Mr. Bose, and if I may say so, he has dealt with his subject in a masterly and exhaustive fashion....
.....I do not dwell upon this or upon other points which occur to me, for they have all been most ably elaborated by my Hon'ble friend who represents the Central Provinces."

Sir Harnam Singh of the Punjab said, "My Lord, what has been observed by the Hon'ble Mr. Bose, in regard to the Revenue Settlement in his Province deserves careful consideration by the Government of India."

A somewhat discordant note was struck by an official additional member, Mr. Rees of Madras, now Sir John Rees M. P. Unfortunately, he had prepared his speech without knowing what I was going to say and probably on a vague notion that I would attack the whole settlement policy. I had studiously avoided doing anything of the kind as raising an unnecessary and difficult issue. It was enough for the end I had in view to show that assuming that the new assessments, when made, were fair, they had entirely ceased to be so in the altered circumstances of the country. This showed the disadvantages of a discussion, where previously prepared speeches are read out just as they are written without any attempt to make them accord with the realities of the situation. To Sir Denzil Ibbetson, I had sent a copy

in advance and he gave a sympathetic reply. I believe, this discussion had its effect in shaping the policy of Government in the introduction of remedial measures including abatement proceedings. I was a member during this session of the Select Committee on the Mines Bill. I had to append a note of dissent to the Committee's Report on one important point, namely,—the employment of women and children, provisions relating to which were, I thought, needlessly stringent and prohibitive. An important measure,—a Bill to amend and consolidate the law relating to the coolies in the Assam tea plantations, was introduced during my second session. I made a speech in support of it and in opposition to an amendment brought forward by the member representing the tea interest. I showed that except when pinched by famine or duped by false or illusive promise, the terms of service were not such as to tempt an agricultural labourer in the Central Provinces to migrate to Assam. Moreover, we had not in the Central Provinces reached a stage when we could spare any of our agricultural labourers for employment in the tea estates. Recruitment in the Province should therefore be hedged round by stringent conditions. This part of the debate did not, however, generate any heat, although the Assam member and Sir Henry Cotton, Chief Commissioner of Assam, who most generously championed the cause of the coolies, attacked one another with some severity in their speeches. It soon became evident, however, that the Government had come to an understanding with the planting interest on the important

The Assam
Labour and
Emigration
Bill and
Sir Henry
Cotton.

question of wages. Sir Henry had evidently not been consulted and knew nothing of what had taken place. When the member representing the planters brought forward his amendment, the Home member at once intervened and announced that he accepted it on behalf of the Government. After what had taken place during the first part of the discussion, this appeared like a *volte face*. It placed us, the Indian members, in a position of considerable embarrassment. We were not prepared to follow the lead of the Hon'ble member. At the same time, none of us had sufficiently mastered the subject to be able to give an effective reply on the spur of the moment. Curiosity was roused as to what Sir Henry Cotton would do. Would he go counter to his official superiors? Well, not only did he decline to accept the compromise arrived at, as he did not care to conceal, behind his back, though the measure was one deeply affecting his Province, but he did something more. He delivered a most scathing attack on the attitude of Government, his voice trembling with righteous indignation as he scornfully referred to the "astounding" decision to surrender the interests of the voiceless cooly to those of his powerful master, the tea planter. We three Indian members alone voted with Sir Henry, the rest of the Council including the Indian member for the Punjab, voting in support of the amendment. My Budget speech during this session dealt mainly with the question of Famine Relief, my reason being that the third Famine Commission was then having its sittings and I wanted to put my views before it

and the Government. I also referred to the inadequacy of the remissions of revenue in the Central Provinces as provided for in the Budget. At the close of my first term, I was asked to continue for another term. I agreed. During my third session, I was in a rather distracted state of mind owing to a heavy domestic calamity. All I could do in addition to a little speech on the Budget discussion day, was to put on the table to be appended to the proceedings a minute dealing at some length with the Government Resolution of 16th January 1902 on the "Indian Revenue Policy," so far as it affected the Central Provinces. It was prepared with great care and though I had to controvert many of the statements and arguments in the resolution, I did so with moderation. My minute has been published in book form, along with criticisms on the Resolution by Indian authorities from other provinces, by Messrs Nateson & Co. of Madras. During my fourth session I had to work on the Select Committee on the Bill to amend and consolidate the law relating to the procedure of Civil Courts. It was a portentous measure. Our labours began a month in advance and lasted for three months, during which period we had daily sittings.

The Land Revenue Settlement policy of Government.

The Civil Procedure Code Bill.

The work though it involved great labour, was congenial to me and I took great pains to study each and every clause. After the Select Committee would be over, I used often to sit with the Deputy Secretary, who had drafted the Bill and was in special charge of it, discussing amendments and settling the terms in which they should be drafted. In this way many important amend-

ments, which I thought were improvements, were introduced in the original draft. I must confess however, the drafting of the Bill as a whole was not satisfactory, it was too elaborate and complicated and many new and controversial matters taken from English procedure were embodied in it. The discussions in the Select Committee were very searching and at times animated. On many important points there was considerable difference of opinion and the final report was accompanied by a number of dissents. Although I did not approve of several provisions, I did not think that any useful purpose would be served by discussing technical points of law in the form of a note of dissent. As it was decided to republish the Bill and have it reconsidered by the Select Committee of a future session, I knew I would have an opportunity to press my views, if I remained on the Council at the time; otherwise I might if I chose, send my criticism to the Select Committee, when it would begin its sittings. My Budget speech during the session covered a large ground and among other matters I dwelt on the injustice and hardship of the Excise duty on cotton goods, which greatly handicapped our mills in their competition with foreign manufactures in China and other foreign markets. On the expiry of my second term I was asked in the following letter from my Chief Commissioner, Mr. Hewett, to allow myself to be nominated for another term of two years:—

“Your term as Additional member expires on December 18th next, I hope that you will find it possible to accept re-appointment. We may

expect to have the Courts Bill and the Zamindari Estates Bill before the Council before long and I should like to feel that your help was available when these matters have to be discussed. There are also likely to be subjects of more general interest in the discussion of which you would be able to represent the Central Provinces with great efficiency. It seems to me to be clearly to the public interest that you should be reappointed."

During the session the Coronation Darbar was held at Delhi. I was invited to attend it, but in spite of considerable pressure, I had to decline on the ground that the Delhi climate would not suit my health.

The Official
Secrets Bill.

My fifth session was a very animated one. Two very controversial Bills were brought forward,—the Official Secrets Bill and the University Bill. As originally introduced, the former contained some very objectionable provisions, but as soon as this was brought to notice, an assurance was given by the Viceroy that they would be put right. Three Indian members including myself were put on the Select Committee. No modification was introduced in the Select Committee in the provision rendering disclosure of official secrets by newspapers, even when obtained by fair means, penal. We three Indian members dissented on this point. Mr. Gokhale was one of them. In other respects the Bill was improved to our satisfaction. Two of my colleagues were at first for objecting to the whole Bill. I was, however, of opinion that the Government was entitled to a reasonable measure of protection against unauthorised and premature disclosure of official matters, as otherwise con-

siderable administrative inconvenience would result. Recognising the importance of united action on our part, we made mutual concessions and were at last able to agree to a joint minute of dissent. The Bill was passed in the shape given to it by the Select Committee, our amendments giving effect to our note of dissent being rejected. On the whole I think much ado was made of a comparatively small matter. The Act provides for so many safe guards, that it would be next to impossible to secure a conviction, except in glaring cases, where conviction would be indisputably right. But as it affected newspapers, a great deal of opposition was evoked by it. I do not believe it has practically made any substantial change in their position.

The University Bill was introduced under circumstances which made any calm and dispassionate discussion of its provisions, such as their importance demanded, next to impossible. Rightly or wrongly, a large and influential section of the educated Indian community had come to hold the opinion that Lord Curzon's Government was determined to put back the progress of English education in India and considerable suspicion had been created in their minds owing to his having convened at Simla a confidential conference of educational authorities, from which the Indian element was rigidly excluded. The circumstance that an Indian member was added to the University Commission at the eleventh hour served to accentuate this suspicion. The Bill saw light in this atmosphere of doubt and distrust and the Indian public at once read in its

The University Bill.

provisions a realization of their worst fears. Expression was given to this feeling by Mr. Gokhale in a speech of singular power and ability. But from one point of view, I venture to question its wisdom. For its effect undoubtedly was to add to the heat. In my judgment, the duty of responsible leaders at this critical juncture was to calm the excitement and to bring about such a state of public feeling, that proposals for the settlement of the points of difference could have been considered with mutual trust in one another's good faith, and with an earnest desire on both sides to arrive at a reasonable compromise. Whether what I here suggest would have resulted in attaining the end in view, I do not know. But I am convinced that the method actually adopted was ill-calculated to secure success. The tone thus given to the discussion marked the passage of the Bill up to its final stage. I regret to say there was no consultation among the Indian members as to the line of action to be adopted in proposing amendments, as there was on other comparatively unimportant occasions both in this as also in past sessions. In framing his amendments, each member acted independently. Altogether they covered several pages and the debate lasted three days, beginning at 10 A. M. and ending at 6 P. M. I feel bound to say that the discussion, though conducted with decorum on both sides, tried the patience of many of us. To see substantially the same matter raised over and over again, though in a different garb, and supported by a repetition of the same argument, though couched in different language, was neither illumina-

ting nor exhilarating, except perhaps to those actually engaged in the fray. -

I think it would have added weight to the opposition, if it had concentrated its efforts on the important constitutional points and not frittered away its energy and diluted its force by taking up every little matter of detail to which any possible objection could be made. I took no part in the discussion on the amendments, believing that there was enough of talk without my adding to its volume. I, however, voted with my friends on all the principal amendments. One or two, on matters of detail, I could not support as I thought they were not sound. When all the amendments were disposed of, I had to decide for myself whether I should oppose the passing of the Bill. After such consideration as I could give to the matter and after consulting my friend, Dr. Asu Tosh Mukhopadhyaya, who sat next to me, I came to the conclusion that I should not adopt this extreme course and thereby identify myself with the party of uncompromising hostility to the measure. That there was much in the then existing system which called for reform and that the Bill in some of its aspects was a move in the right direction, was admitted even by its stoutest opponents. Such being the case I, in a little speech I prepared at the moment, explained the position I intended to take up. I said that, while adhering to the opinion that the Government should have accepted some of the principal amendments directed to strengthen the popular element in the University, I recognised that there were provisions in the Bill which merited support and that

I should, therefore, vote for the general motion that it become law. I was aware that by adopting this course I would lay myself open to attack by some of my countrymen in the Press, and as a matter of fact, my motive was vilely questioned by one newspaper. But, highly as I value approbation of my conduct by my countrymen, I could not permit my decision as to what would best conserve the public interest to be influenced by any desire to win popular applause. To show how one-sided was the stand-point from which the Bill was viewed, I might point out here that if all that was insinuated against Government was well-founded, it could, by exercise of its power under the old law, have so manipulated the constitution of the Senate as to make it entirely subservient to its alleged sinister policy of killing high education. For under that law it had absolute power to create and dissolve the Senate in any manner and at any time it pleased. To attempt under the circumstances to force through the Council a new law was a wholly gratuitous piece of indiscretion and ineptitude. As a matter of fact, the new law imposed important restrictions on its powers in this respect. They may be thus summarised here, (a) a certain per-centage of the Senate was to be elected by the graduates, (b) another portion was to be elected by the nominated fellows by co-option, (c) nomination by Government was to be subject to the important condition that two-fifths of the nominees should be educationists, (d) except on the ground of non-attendance at meetings, the office of a member would not be liable to be cancelled, (e) faculties

were given statutory sanction and they were empowered to add to their number, persons possessing special knowledge of the subjects of study represented by them to the extent of one-half of their number and (f) no action regarding affiliation or disaffiliation was to be taken by Government except on the recommendation of the Senate made after due enquiry. In the clouded atmosphere of a heated controversy all this was not perceived, or if perceived, was not appreciated at its true worth. Although these restrictive provisions on the powers of the Government did not, in our opinion, go far enough, yet recognition of the right of popular election by statute was an important concession and if we judiciously exercise the right already given, we shall soon establish such a claim for its expansion as could not be long ignored by a Government like the British Government.

Another Bill, which, though it created no stir and was hardly even so much as noticed by the organs of Indian public opinion, had in it large potentialities of good for the country, was passed during this session. I refer to the Co-operative Credit Societies Act. My colleague Mr. Sriram and I pointed out to the Select Committee, —we were both on it,—that the Bill would not benefit that large class of agriculturists, who were already deep in debt and had little or no credit on

Co-operative
Credit Socie-
ties Bill.

*It may not be out of place to mention here that the work of Sir Dr. Asu Tosh Mukhopadhyaya in connection with the expansion of the activities of the Calcutta University has all been done under the ægis of this very Act. The set-back feared has not taken place at least in the case of this University.

C. P. Courts
Bill.

which to borrow on fair terms. For them what was needed was a system of agricultural banks enjoying special privileges and in return working under terms imposed by Government. Though the scope of the Bill was not expressly extended in this direction, yet it was made elastic enough to permit of this being done by means of rules made by Government. A Central Provinces Courts Bill was also passed during this session. I was in constant communication with my Judicial Commissioner, Mr Ismay, who had drafted it, about its provisions during its passage through the Council and with his approval helped to make it more effective. Two other local bills, one relating to village sanitation and the other to Municipalities, were also passed during my term of office. They were, however, taken up at Simla and though asked to do so, I could not, owing to considerations of health, go there and work on the Select Committee. I sent my suggestions and most of them were accepted. In my Budget speech during this session, I confined myself mainly to subjects relating to my Province except in one particular. Dr. Asu Tosh, who spoke just before me, strongly advocated the abolition of the income tax as one of the ways of utilizing the surplus. I have an equally strong conviction on the other side. I consider income tax with a suitable minimum as a perfectly just tax. It is the only tax which touches the rich, the well-to-do official, professional and commercial classes. To take off such a tax is to relieve the rich at the expense of the poor. I could not, therefore, permit it to be said that Indian opinion

was in favour of Dr. Asu Tosh's suggestions. I accordingly opposed them and my colleagues Messrs. Gokhale and Sriram supported me. My sixth and last year of office (1904-5) began very quietly and promised to be an uneventful session. Unfortunately, however, some notifications of doubtful legality, issued by the various Chancellors under the newly passed Universities Act for the formation of senates and syndicates, served partially to reopen the controversy, which it was thought, had been laid to rest in the previous year. The proceedings in Bombay were evidently wanting in fairness to the Indian community and in view of the official protestations during the passage of the Bill in the previous year, were specially unfortunate. In Calcutta too questionable devices had been resorted to to keep out some of the best Indians. The legality of the proceedings culminating in these results was questioned by means of a suit in the Bombay High Court. But before the suit could be decided the government introduced a Bill to validate all that had hitherto been done under the colour of the Act. There was this much to be said in favour of the Government action that much valuable time would have been lost before the matter could have been finally settled by a decision of the Privy Council. And in the meantime beyond perhaps the current office work, all other work including the holding of examinations and the conferring of degrees would have been at a standstill. The opposing argument, that the decision of the High Court would have been arrived at in a fortnight's time and so no harm would have been

done, was unsound, for neither party would have been conclusively bound by the High Court decision. Considering the importance of the question, whichever side lost, would in all likelihood have carried the litigation to the Privy Council. The other argument that a fresh notification could and should have been issued was equally unsound, for it overlooked the important fact that this could not be done until the highest Court had pronounced the notifications already issued illegal. At the same time, I was of opinion that a wrong had been done to the Indian community and to mark my sense of it, I voted against the Bill, though I did not speak on the subject. I may add I had no sympathy with the extreme view put forward with a great deal of energy that the passing of the Bill marked the disappearance of the "reign of law" and heralded the ushering in of an era of "executive discretion" uncontrolled by law. My Budget speech dealt with a few general questions, the most important of them being a suggestion to utilise any future surplus in reduction of the percentage of assets now taken as Land Revenue in the various provinces, specially in my Province where it was generally not in accordance with the half-assets rule. I served on Select Committees on several other small Bills, but they are not worth special mention. As a result of my six years' experience of Council work I may state that I do not agree in the view generally put forward by my countrymen in the press that the Indian members are mere ornamental figure-heads and are not given any opportunity to make themselves

useful. It is not perhaps generally known, though it is a fact, that the real work of the Council is done in the Select Committees and no Select Committee is ever constituted without at least one Indian member being put on it. Very often, especially in the case of important measures there are two or three of them. It is no doubt true that the officials are always in a majority, but unlike what takes place in the Council Chamber, where pre-arranged decisions of Government are generally given effect to, there is *real* discussion and a threshing out of difficult and disputed points in a spirit of fairness in the Select Committees. Every shade of opinion, which may have been submitted for consideration by officials and non-officials, Europeans and Indians, is carefully considered and no decision is arrived at until every member has had his full say. Indian members are always treated with the utmost courtesy and consideration and though what they urge may not always find acceptance, they are given the fullest opportunity to press their views and arguments. I have often and often seen provisions of Bills modified, with a view to meet objections and suggestions of Indian members. I do not deny that where the matter involves a question of State policy with respect to which a final decision has already been arrived at, no concession is made. But even in such cases, every attempt is made to arrive at some compromise, which may satisfy Indian opinion at least to some extent. So that I am deliberately of opinion that it is possible for an Indian member, if possessed of the necessary knowledge,

experience and ability and if he is actuated by an honest desire to work in a spirit of fairness and moderation with the official members, to make his influence felt in the work of the Council. Even speeches in Council, though for the time being they may seem to bear no fruit, receive, as I have reason to believe, careful consideration in the shaping of the future policy of Government. This was indubitably the case with several of Mr. Gokhale's masterly Budget speeches.

This practically brings to a close my connection with the Legislative Council, for my term expired in next December 1905, before the session reopened in Calcutta. My work in Council has been of benefit to me personally in as much as it has broadened my views, expanded my sympathies and given me an opportunity, which I could not have got at Nagpur amidst the distracting calls of various duties, to watch and study public questions in a systematic manner and with close and undivided attention.

Some of my
writings.

I have written now and then on public questions and also on literary subjects. My first appearance in print was in 1871, when I contributed some articles on "Reform of our University curriculum" to my friend U.N. Das's paper, "The Indian Tribune". I advocated the introduction of science in the F. A. and the B. A. tests. The course was mostly literary in those days. I have personally derived great benefit from a study of light science in the works of such authors as Huxley, Tyndall, Herschel, Ball, Proctor and others and was fully persuaded that nothing but good could come of a study of

modern science. Of course my articles made no impression on the University authorities, very likely they did not even know of them, but they were much discussed by my college friends. While at Jubbulpore, I used to send letters dealing with local subjects to Calcutta papers. But my next serious attempt was a series of articles on the "Poverty of the people in the Deccan". The Deccan had been convulsed by a series of agrarian riots and a Commission had sat to report on their causes and to suggest remedies. I tried to show that a Land Revenue enhanced from time to time beyond the capacities of the people to pay and fixed in cash and rigidly collected regardless of the condition of the harvests was the main cause of the poverty of the Deccan ryots. They were driven under the exigencies of the situation to seek temporary relief by borrowing from money-lenders to meet the assessments on their lands and when in course of time, they became hopelessly involved, they rose in despair against the sowkars as the immediate cause of their misery and sufferings. This was also to a great extent the conclusion arrived at by the Commission. I furnished an article on the new tenancy law for the Central Provinces to the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha Journal. My next systematic attempt to write on public questions was when the popular mind in the Central Provinces began to be violently agitated by the methods and measures of the new Settlement of Land Revenue, I wrote a number of articles in the newspapers, both in and out of the Province, dealing with the subject from various points of

Deccan riots
Commission.

view. In view of the sitting of the Congress at Nagpur in December 1891, I prepared a pamphlet of about 100 pages on the economic situation in the Central Provinces with special reference to the new Settlement. A little previous to this Sir Antony Macdonnell, our Chief Commissioner, had visited the Bilaspur District, where the first re-settlement had taken place resulting in an enhancement of various Government dues by nearly 111 per cent in many villages. Many landholders had from time to time come to Nagpur to present memorials against the new Settlement. I had helped them in the matter. A demonstration of the people against the Settlement on the occasion of the Chief Commissioner's visit was suggested to them as the most effective means of bringing their grievances to notice. So great and wide-spread was the discontent evoked by the new assessments that over 20,000 people assembled in the town of Bilaspur to present petitions against them to the Chief Commissioner. These were all drafted by me. It was suggested by those responsible for the new Settlement that this unique and unprecedented demonstration was not spontaneous but manufactured from without. I knew all about the matter and showed in my pamphlet that the official view was a mistaken view, that it was not possible to gather 20,000 agriculturists in the height of the rains away from their homes and their fields by mere wire-pulling from outside, that the character of the people who demonstrated and the circumstances under which they demonstrated were enough evidence of the reality

Great popular demonstration against the C. P. Settlement at Bilaspur.

and solidity of their grievances. I continued to issue small pamphlets on Settlement questions as the operations went on. In October 1900, the Government of India published a resolution on the re-settlement of the Nagpur district, in which an attempt was made to justify the action of the Settlement Department all over the Province. I wrote a long letter to the leading newspapers, English and Indian, in which I tried to show by appeal to official facts and figures that the position taken up in the resolution was in some respects untenable. About this time Sir Antony Macdonnell's Famine Commission was having its sittings and taking evidence. One of the questions, the Commission was asked to report on was the pressure of the Land Revenue on gross produce. In view of this, I prepared for the Malguzar Sabha of Nagpur, a series of notes dealing with the new Settlement in each of the districts of the Province where it had been given effect to and also dealing with some of the general principles underlying it. They were first published in some of the leading papers over *a nom de plume* and afterwards revised and reprinted and submitted to the Commission on behalf of the Sabha. I also submitted over my own signature notes, (1) on the economic effect of the new Settlement, (2) the condition of the agricultural population in the Central Provinces and (3) Agricultural Banks. In view of the appointment of the Irrigation Commission, I prepared a note on "Irrigation in the Central Provinces." I urged in it the utility and desirability in rice-producing tracts of irrigation tanks, for which

The report of
the Famine
Commission
of 1900.

the country afforded special facilities. I am glad the suggestion has found favour and many such tanks are now under construction and more are under contemplation. My note was embodied in the official blue-book submitted to the Commission. While the Famine Commission of 1906 was sitting, I wrote a series of articles in one of the Indian newspapers on the evidence as it was given before it from time to time, criticising it and drawing conclusions from it as to the right policy to be adopted. After the publication of the report of the Famine Commission of 1900, I wrote an article in Mr. Malabari's "East and West" on "the administration of famine relief in the Central Provinces in 1900." My object was to defend it against the strictures passed on it by Sir Antony Macdonnell's Commission. I tried to show that the management of famine relief in the Central Provinces was an administrative feat of which any Government might well be proud, that it was a greater success by far than Sir Antony's own management of famine in the North Western Provinces in 1897, when, as it was clearly demonstrated by the Census of 1901, thousands of people died, either directly or indirectly, through starvation or by diseases brought on by starvation, that the saving of life and not economy in expenditure should be the key-note of a campaign against famine, that even extravagance in expenditure is to be preferred to disastrous loss of life from want of adequate relief, that the money raised from the people could not be more beneficially spent than in saving their lives and so on.

I have written in connection with the Morris College Debating Society the following essays, (1) "Stray thoughts on religion," (2) "the Sun," (3) "Theory of Morals and (4) "The Phenomena of life." These were afterwards revised and published in some Indian magazines. I have also recently written for one of these magazines a paper on the economic condition in the Central Provinces in 1901. Soon after the labours of the Select Committee on the Civil Procedure Code Bill, I wrote a note on some of the debated and disputed questions. It was published in the Calcutta Weekly Notes over my signature. I have just written a booklet on the Settlement question in the Central Provinces on behalf of the Jubbulpore Land-holders' Association, of which that public-spirited citizen, Rai Bahadur Seth Bullubh Das, is President. Besides recording opinions on Bills before the Legislative Council in my capacity as Government Advocate, I have in the same capacity submitted my views on various public questions which from time to time came up for decision before the Government.

During the last four years I have been spending the summer with my family in this charming little sea-side station. It is a village of not more than fifty houses, away from the noise and bustle of towns,—an ideal place to enjoy rest and recoup one's health. The house we occupy overlooks the Arabian Sea and the cool health-giving sea-breeze blows on us all day long. All arrangements for our comfort are made by my son, Lalit, who is the Executive Engineer of the district. We are a most happy family here. Lalit's wife

Tithal. May,
1906.

is an English lady. Though English, she is an ideal Hindu daughter-in-law to us, such as one seldom comes across in these days even among our own people. It was here that I beguiled my time last summer in writing my autobiography. Soon after my return to Nagpur in June 1905, I was asked by my Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Ismay, to accept the Government Advocateship, an altogether new post, carrying higher duties, which had just then been sanctioned by the Secretary of State. Owing to failing health and strength, I felt some hesitation in accepting the post but ultimately I accepted it. On 25th July, 1905, I received the following letter on the subject from the Chief Commissioner, the Hon'ble Mr. Miller :—"The Government of India has, as I informed you recently, agreed to the raising of the salary of the Government Advocate in these Provinces to.....The Chief Secretary will inform you of the conditions.....but my object in writing is to offer you the first appointment to the post.....and to express a hope that you will see your way to accepting it. It gives me much pleasure to make the offer to you, as I am well aware both from what I knew of your reputation before I came to these Provinces and from what I have heard since that the Administration will be fortunate if it can secure your services."

Second
appointment
as Govern-
ment Ad-
vocate, with
enlarged
functions.

During this year (1905-6), much of my time was taken up with Municipal affairs. Since the out-break of that terrible scourge, plague, in Nagpur in 1902, the Municipal Committee and the Government authorities have been engaged

Nagpur
Municipal
affairs.

in considering and concerting measures to improve the sanitary condition of the town. It is a very old city, most irregularly built and needing improvement in various directions. Before reforms could be introduced, the necessary funds had to be provided. Accordingly a Sub-Committee of the General Committee was appointed to consider and formulate ways and means. I was on it and we were able by suggesting certain modifications in the taxes in force, especially in Octroi, which is the main source of our income, to make an appreciable addition to the revenue, without harassment to the people. When the success of the innovations introduced was assured by a permanent rise in the income, the Committee set about elaborating measures of improvement. In this they were greatly helped by the Commissioner of the Division, Mr. Craddock. He sketched out various schemes, which after they had been fully considered were adopted with some modifications suggested by the discussions which took place. I prepared a note on the financial position to carry out the proposed improvements, which include a complete system of drainage, strengthening the water-supply by the construction of a new tank, opening out congested localities, widening existing roads, constructing new roads, establishing new bastis on sanitary principles for housing people displaced from their homes by the other improvements, and so on. My note was intended as a supplement to the twenty years' review written by me in 1904. It was thus noticed by the Local Government in its Chief Secretary's letter No.

2908 dated the 14th march 1906. "The Chief Commissioner has read the papers with much interest and desires to express his appreciation of the admirable manner in which Mr. Bose has dealt with the history and finances of Nagpur."

The Committee are now engaged in carrying out with the help of Government the various schemes of improvement and when they are completed, Nagpur will unquestionably be better equipped to combat plague and other epidemics, which whatever their origin, are certainly greatly helped in their propagation by insanitary conditions and surroundings.

The Bengal
Partition.

Since September last, Bengal has been convulsed by an agitation, the like of which has not been witnessed since the introduction of British rule in India. It was characterised by Lord Curzon as a wholly artificial agitation, fomented and engineered by Calcutta wire-pullers. But such a high authority as Mr. John Morley, has since admitted in Parliament that it is a genuine national demonstration, so far as the Hindus, who form the bulk of the population, are concerned. In fact everybody now sees that Lord Curzon's estimate of it as a got-up affair, not resting on a real upheaval of the national mind was as unfortunate as it was superficial. The cause of this most deplorable state of things is the partition of Bengal. Whatever the administrative necessity for the measure, its result has no doubt been to cut in two a hitherto homogeneous nation, deeply attached, as after events have shown, to their unity and nationality. At first I was of opinion that the measure was dictated by high

motives of administrative convenience and utility and that it was the duty of the Bengalees to adapt themselves to the new state of things and give it a fair trial. But the publication of the official papers has shown that I was wrong in my estimate of the Government policy. It has been said by the author of the measure himself that one of its main objects was to weaken the political influence of the Bengalee nation, especially of the Calcutta Bengalees. There is an equally frank admission by the Secretary of State (Lord George Hamilton) that he sanctioned Lord Curzon's proposal not because he was convinced that it was imperatively called for in the public interests, or that it was the best which could be devised to meet an administrative necessity, but because some concession to his Lordship was needed after he had been thrown over in his dispute with Lord Kitchener regarding Army Administration reforms. In fact the papers make it clear that purely administrative difficulties resulting from the growth of Bengal could have been met by some scheme other than the one sanctioned, which severed the majority of the Bengalee people from the old Province and attached them to the new in such a manner as to place them in the minority in both. The manner in which the scheme was elaborated and carried through, was also ill-calculated to reconcile the people to it. Though so vitally affecting them, the procedure adopted was such as to make it impossible for them to consider it and state their views about it. It was conceived in secret, all demands for information both in the Local and

in the Imperial Council being steadily refused. And when at last a somewhat reluctant Secretary of State was in a manner driven to give to it his sanction out of deference to Lord Curzon's susceptibilities, it was rushed through in India with a haste, which leads to the legitimate inference that its author was determined to leave to his successor a fully accomplished fact, which it would be difficult, if not impossible, for him to override, even if after events demonstrated the impolicy of the measure. The British Government is no doubt in its essence, a despotic government. But its guiding principle has always been to rule India in the interests of the people and with due regard to their genuinely expressed views and opinions after giving them a fair opportunity to submit their objections to any contemplated governmental measure. Nobody had given expression to this truth in more felicitous language than Lord Curzon himself. In replying to the Bombay Corporation address, welcoming him to India, he had said, "I see no reason why, in India as elsewhere the official hierarchy should not benefit "by public opinion. Official wisdom is not so "transcendant as to be superior to this form of "stimulus and guidance. Of course, it is easy to "disparage native public opinion and to say that it "only represents the view of the infinitesimal "fraction who are educated. But there are a "multitude of ways in which Government may "endeavour, and in my opinion should endeavour, "to enlist public opinion upon its side. It can "harken to both sides of a case, it can take the "public into its confidence by explaining what to

"the official mind seems simple enough but to the outside public may appear quite obscure ; on framing legislation it can profit by external advice instead of relying solely upon the arcana of official wisdom." (December 1900). But as ill luck would have it, the Bengal partition was conceived and carried out in violation of every one of the admirable principles inculcated above. The Bengalees therefore, were not without justification when they proclaimed that the main-spring of Lord Curzon's policy in this matter was not a clearly demonstrated administrative exigency but political expediency of doubtful morality ; in plain language, its object was so to concentrate the Mahomedan element as to make it a powerful political unit, to act as a counterpoise to the Hindus and to weaken, if not to destroy, the influence of a class of people, who, rightly or wrongly, had severely attacked his Lordship's later administration as reactionary and as especially directed against the educated class. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the question, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that in this matter Lord Curzon displayed considerable want of forethought, calm deliberation and sound judgment,—in fact all those qualities which go to make up true statesmanship. And I am afraid people are not wrong when they say that much of the trouble, which has flowed from the ill-starred measure has to be laid at his door. It is a far cry from Bengal to the Central Provinces and the above remarks may be thought out of place here, when it is borne in mind that I have for all practical purposes ceased to belong to Bengal,

my life and my life's work being wholly bound up with the Central Provinces and their people. But the fierce agitation set on foot in Bengal has overstepped its bounds and has spread all over India and Nagpur has not escaped its influence. It is said to have given birth to a "new spirit." I think this new spirit, though not perhaps exactly in the form it has assumed, would have developed itself in any case. Successive generations of Indians could not be impregnated through the English language and through English literature with a new conception of civilization and initiated through western processes of education into a new world of thought, without giving rise to a spirit of revolt against what was considered exclusion from a legitimate share in the administration of their own country and from an adequate participation in its material benefits. The highest statesmanship would have extended the hand of sympathy to this new spirit and harnessed it for the orderly progress of the nation. It still may not be too late. But while young India was thus being slowly but surely educated in new ideas of government and economic development, the official world knew little or nothing of what was going on below the surface. On the contrary, Lord Curzon's government, which had begun with high promises clothed in glowing language, assumed towards its end an attitude, which was looked upon as one of neglect of the aspirations of a growing people, if not of positive hostility towards them. The climax came with the Bengal partition. When all attempts to arrest the hand of Lord Curzon and get a hearing failed

and the partition was consummated with despotic and almost contemptuous disregard of their feelings, the Bengalees came to think that what has been called the policy of "mendicancy" should cease and they ushered in the boycott of English manufactures, in a spirit of sullen resentment against a government which had turned a deaf ear to all their prayers. I verily believe that with a Viceroy of the type of Lord Minto to deal with the situation, the transition from the old to the new order of things would not have been accompanied by the outburst of distrust and hostility, which, most unfortunately for the orderly development of the country, has manifested itself in Bengal and in sympathy with Bengal, in a more or less degree, almost everywhere in India. Men, permeated by a spirit of hatred against the Government, have not been slow to take advantage of this abnormal and inflamed state of the public mind. And a party has been formed, whose watch-word is to create a feeling of universal discontent against the Government, presumably with a view to prepare the way for a revolution at some future period. People with faith in British justice and in orderly progress on constitutional lines towards our political regeneration find themselves in a difficulty in combating the tactics of these new leaders, tactics not always characterised by fairness. When an almost entire nation is convinced that they have been grievously wronged and rightly or wrongly such is undoubtedly the case with the Bengalees, appeals to reason and good sense cease to have effect, and when

attempts are made to condemn the new party and its methods, they are instantly met even out of Bengal with the retort that no good can come out of agitation on old constitutional lines, when Bengal's thousand and odd public meetings of protest only brought forth the reply from a liberal statesman like Mr. Morley that a "settled fact" could not be unsettled. And strange as it may appear, this expression of the Secretary of State is known, even among men who ordinarily take no interest in politics. I have said before with satisfaction that my friend Mr. Chitnavis and others had succeeded in creating a healthy public opinion in Nagpur, which recognised that in friendly co-operation with Government in all matters affecting the public interests and in recognition of the general beneficence of British rule lay the best hope of our regeneration. Matters have, however, undergone a change since then. The wave of the new spirit from Bengal with its momentum considerably added to by propaganda from Poona and Amraoti has touched Nagpur and signs are not wanting that a sustained effort will have to be put forth, if the state of things existing in Bengal and Poona is not to be repeated in Nagpur. The leader of the party does not belong to our Province. As regards the Nagpur leaders, most of them are not known to have ever done anything solid and substantial for the good of their fellow-townsmen. None the less they claim to have discovered the true secret of the nation's salvation and by pursuing a policy of fomenting bad blood between the rulers and the ruled, they hope to bring about

our regeneration. I hope I am not unfair in thus trying to crystalise their policy.

My son Lalit having been transferred from Surat to Poona, I have come here to pass the summer. The nights are delightfully cool and even during the afternoon, it is not inconveniently hot. The Bungalow we occupy is in the Cantonment of Wanowrie and is very well situated and the surroundings are kept scrupulously neat and clean. I am quite comfortable here, where I am writing this portion of my notes. In the midst of my distracting duties of various kinds at Nagpur, I could not make time to do so. I passed my last summer vacation at Dumas, another sea-side place in the Surat District, about ten miles from the town of Surat. I was in very bad health at Dumas and my overtaxed brain would not permit me to do any work. I now take up the narrative at the point at which I left off at Tithal in May 1906.

Poona, May
1908.

Writing of the Morris College, I have made mention of the help which the Government had been induced to promise to give it to raise it to the status of a first class institution. Since the passing of the new University Act and the transfer of the Central Provinces to the jurisdiction of the Allahabad University, the question of improving and strengthening the staff had become a question of life and death for the College. For under the new regulations, it could not remain affiliated unless the teaching arrangements fulfilled the minimum requirements of the prescribed standard. I have already explained the financial position. The trust fund yielded an income of a

Improvement
of the Morris
College.

little above Rs. 500 a month. The fees could not be relied upon to give more than Rs. 350 a month. These added to the small Municipal grant of Rs. 125 a month were wholly insufficient to meet the cost of the necessary reforms. With my past experience in collecting subscriptions as my guide, I could not expect to raise a fund of at least six lakhs to meet the necessary expenditure by appeal to the public. The alternative before us was thus to seek the aid of Government or to close the institution. I do not share in the views of the new party, who would reject Government aid and Government co-operation in educational as in all other matters affecting the national interests. On the other hand, I have all my life been guided by the principle that circumstanced as we are, our interests are best advanced when we act in healthy and friendly co-operation with the Government. The College itself was the outcome of the combined efforts of the people and Government officials. We thus felt no hesitation in seeking and accepting Government help at this crisis in the history of the College. The Government gave us two European Professors, Rs. 2,000 a year to increase the pay of the Indian staff, an increase to which they had become justly entitled by their good work but which could not hitherto be given them for want of funds and Rs. 13,000 to improve the building, the library and the laboratory. Over and above these, the Government made efficient arrangements to teach science to the B. Sc. students in connection with the Victoria Technical Institute. The laboratory here, which has cost over Rs. 60,000, is in charge of an

English Professor with an Indian assistant, both of whom are paid by Government. The College remains as before in charge of its governing Council, the only concession which has been made in return for these very substantial aids is so to alter its constitution as to equalise the number of official and non-official members in substitution of the old rule under which the latter had a majority of one over the former. Added to these improvemets in the internal economy, the Hon'ble Mr. Craddock, our present Chief Commissioner, who has always taken the keenest interest in the welfare of the College and its students, has promised to give the old Residency with its extensive buildings and compound to the governing Council for housing the College. This is a splendid gift and most satisfactorily solves the building difficulty. I had during the past twelve months improved the joint building of the College and the School at a cost of about Rs. 6,000, but despite the additions made, the existing arrangements left much to be desired. Further the Allahabad University is now insisting on separate buildings for a College and the school which feeds it. I think this is a sound principle, and we were all made to feel the urgent need of having the College in a wholly independent building during a late disturbance among the students of the Neill High School. The grant of the Residency is thus as opportune as it is conducive to the best interests of the College. We are now engaged in raising funds to build a hostel for the students in the compound of the Residency. The transfer of the College to the Residency will also solve the

difficulty of continuing the classes during the outbreak of plague, which now interrupts the session much to the loss of the students. It will also bring the college in close proximity to the Technical Institute, where science is taught to the higher classes. In connection with the question of house accommodation, I may mention here that I have just completed a nice little new building for the Budhwari School. It is a school under the City School Committee's management and is intended for the poor boys of the weaver population of Nagpur. The building has cost about Rs. 4,000, of which the Government has given about Rs. 1,200.

I have been of late subjected to much abusive attack in the press of the new party in Nagpur and Poona for my action in connection with the College. I have also received some letters from anonymous writers threatening personal violence. I have never been eager to bring myself before the public. But my connection with various public institutions necessarily has this effect to some extent and my actions have, now and then, been subjected to adverse criticism. But it was never so venomous as at the present time. I have been accused of having betrayed the interests of my country for the sake of self-aggrandisement. I have been compared with Judas Iscariot of infamous memory. I wish to say once for all that this sort of criticism is only waste of energy. For it has not the slightest effect on me and my actions. In the first place, I do not read these papers and in the second place, when they are brought to my notice, I merely pass by

their idle vapourings as the outcome of diseased minds. What adds to the ridiculousness of the position is that these men, who are so ready to cry down people who labour for their countrymen according to the light which is within them, have never been known to contribute a pie or devote a single hour of their lives in the cause of the institutions whose interests they profess to defend by the cheap method of vilification in public prints. Be that as it may, I and the institutions I am connected with have survived many such attacks and I have no reason to think that the future will in any wise be unlike the past. To quote Mr. Gokhale, "public duties undertaken at the bidding of no man" and ideals of public conduct formed during more than a quarter of a century of strenuous public life are not to be shaped and regulated to suit the views of men with whom, looking to their past lives and knowing what I know of them, it is impossible for me to agree. Instead of frittering away their time and energy in these impotent attacks, they would be much better employed, if they are really sincere, in founding educational institutions according to their own ideals.

The twenty-second session of the Indian National Congress, that veteran Congress leader, Mr. Dadabhoi Naoroji, presiding, was held at Calcutta during the Christmas week of 1906. It was during this session that the existence, among those who had hitherto taken part in the movement, of two parties, holding apparently divergent views regarding the aims and objects of the Congress and the ways and means to attain them,

Proposed
Congress
session
at Nagpur in
1917.

was for the first time tangibly disclosed. For some time past a body of men within the Congress circle had been trying to mould the Congress in accordance with the views identified with the name of Mr. B. G. Tilak of Poona. This gentleman had been prosecuted in the High Court of Bombay. Whether the prosecution was well or ill-advised and the conviction right or wrong, it is foreign to my present purpose to discuss. But there can be no question, the case served to give Mr. Tilak and his views a prominence, which they would not probably have otherwise attained. He at once stepped into the position of leader of the new party, holding views, not in consonance with the principles, which had hitherto governed the proceedings of the Congress. Attempts had been made at one or two preceding sessions to get him nominated President. Apart from all other considerations, the old leaders, who had created and nursed the movement, could not agree to recognise as their official head, a person, with his views. Such a course would have meant severance of all constitutional relations with Government and would thus have cut the Congress adrift from its old moorings. The great majority of those who took part in the Congress proceedings sided with their old leaders and the attempts of Mr. Tilak's friends did not meet with success. The unfortunate Bengal partition, however, brought into existence new forces, which greatly strengthened the position of Mr. Tilak and his followers. He found many new recruits in Bengal and not only in Bengal but out of Bengal as well, among people, who sympathised with

Bengal. Nagpur, especially since the amalgamation with Berar, had been brought into close touch with Mr. Tilak and a party was formed here, which acknowledged him as its leader and pledged itself to get him nominated President of the Congress if it were held at Nagpur. The delegates chosen from the Central Provinces for the session of 1906 included a considerable number of men of this new party. In view of the fact that no session of the Congress had been held in the Central Provinces since 1891, the local leading men had been informally requested to invite it to Nagpur during 1907. I was against the proposal. From what I knew of the leaders of the new party, I thought that joint action with them was not possible, that unless they were allowed to manage things according to their own ideas, that above all unless the nomination of the President was left to their choice, they would prevent the smooth and harmonious working of the organization. I did not hesitate to impress these views on those of my friends who were to go to Calcutta as delegates. I also wrote to the same effect to Mr. Chitnavis, who was then in Calcutta, attending the session of the Legislative Council. When, however, the Central Provinces delegates actually met at Calcutta to discuss the question, delegates belonging to the new party gave an undertaking that they would work shoulder to shoulder with the old Nagpur leaders with Mr. Chitnavis as their head and would loyally submit to the decision of the majority. Owing to indifferent health, I myself did not go to Calcutta, but I came to know of what had taken place there from my friends.

Relying on these promises, which, as subsequent events showed, were forgotten as if never made, the necessary invitation was given by Mr. Chitnavis. After the return of the delegates from Calcutta, active steps were taken to form local committees in accordance with the constitution settled at Calcutta and it soon became clear that the compact on the faith of which alone, Mr. Chitnavis and his friends had given the invitation, was not to be respected. The new party tried to concentrate all power in their own hands, reducing the "Moderates" as the opposite party has been called, to nonentity. The meetings of the organization committee were characterised by heated disputations and no work was done. Side by side with these unhappy proceedings, the new party began a carefully planned campaign of the vilest abuse both in the press and on public platforms against the moderate leaders. The latter, however, silently worked on to raise the necessary fund and to secure a majority of members in the Committee that was to nominate the President. Their efforts met with remarkable success. They raised nearly Rs. 29,000* and secured an overwhelming majority. This clearly showed that the new party had failed to make any impression on the people, especially among the thinking and respectable classes. To the Nagpur Extremists belongs the "honour" of inaugurating a new method of conducting public affairs. On the 22nd of September, 1907, a day which will long be remembered as having given birth to the new cult, a meeting of the Committee was held at the local Town Hall. It

was attended by over 500 members from all parts of the Province, an overwhelming majority of whom belonged to the moderate party. This was well known to the new party and as after-events proved, their leaders came to the meeting with a carefully thought-out plan to wreck it, unless the Moderates surrendered to them unconditionally. They had picked out from among themselves half a dozen stalwarts ready for every emergency. These men prevented by the use of brute force the Chairman from taking the chair. They shouted down every speaker on the moderate side and themselves kept up a continuous din of irrelevant talk. The moderate leaders were not prepared to meet rowdyism with rowdyism and though they could have crushed the obstructionists by the very weight of numbers, they abstained from disgracing the cause by indulging in a free fight. They accordingly dispersed without doing any business. The new party, by appealing to the worst passions of the ignorant masses in some of the disreputable quarters of the town, had collected a large body of rowdies outside the Town Hall and many of the moderate leaders were assaulted as soon as they came out of the Hall. The leaders of the new party, on the contrary, were garlanded and carried in triumph. Unfortunately the police failed to preserve peace and prevent these assaults taking place in public streets. This inaction had a bad moral effect. It created an impression that the new party in their attacks on their opponents could count on the benevolent neutrality of the local officers. This led to many disgraceful scenes.

Respectable moderate leaders were openly insulted and attacked in public places by persons presumably belonging to or sympathising with the new party. This, however, by the way. The breaking up of the meeting was immediately followed by threats in the recognised organ of the new party that there would be no hesitation to re-enact the scenes of the 22nd September and to adopt, if necessary, even more drastic measures, if the moderates should renew the attempt to carry out their programme. It was even said that the Congress itself would be wrecked if the moderates decided upon foisting on the Presidential chair, a person not enjoying the confidence of the new party and professing its faith. After careful consideration the moderates came to the conclusion that the Congress could not be held at Nagpur, unless they were prepared to repel force by force or to seek protection of the police to keep order. Neither course they thought would be consistent with the position they held in the country. So they applied to the All India Congress Committee to arrange to hold the session elsewhere. It was accordingly held, or rather attempted to be held, at Surat. What took place there is well-known and as I had no connection with the proceedings, I shall say nothing on the subject. It suffices to say that the heroes of the meeting of the 22nd September surpassed themselves at Surat. I was not a member of the local Committee, I could not be, being Government Advocate. But I gave such help as I could to my friends, the leaders of the moderate party, at every stage of these deplorable proceedings. I drafted

Transfer of
the sitting
of the
Congress to
Surat and its
dissolution.

for them the letter to the All India Committee and took part in the various negotiations that were carried on to bring about a compromise. At first the new party seemed to have faith in me and I was appealed to by its leaders to mediate. I thought I had almost succeeded but their refusal at the last moment to carry out their promise to accept the nomination of Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh as President put an end to all further negotiations. Their leader's conduct, while these scenes were being enacted at Nagpur for securing the Presidentship, might throw some light on the proceedings at the sitting of the Congress at Surat. A word from him would have at once arrested the destroying hands of his followers at Nagpur. But not only was that word not spoken, but his paper practically endorsed their action. An esteemed friend of his, to whom he was under obligation in connection with the conduct of his defence in the sedition case, implored him to intervene and thus save the situation ; but he kept his own counsel. While these things were happening, the leaders of the new party were, as far as could be made out, engaged in indoctrinating the student community of Nagpur with the principles and ideals of their political faith. The reason is not far to seek. They knew they had slender chance with the sober members of society. But nothing was easier than to influence and inflame the immature minds of school and college boys, and by telling them that the salvation of their "motherland" lay in their hands to turn their youthful heads and to make converts of them. They were unfitted by their lack of knowledge

and experience to bring to bear upon the consideration of the most difficult problems that kept the nation throbbing with excitement, a well-informed and thoughtful mind. Politics is as much a science as any other subject affecting the moral and intellectual progress of the human race. It was impossible in the nature of things that boys, most of whom were yet in their teens, should be able to grasp all the pros and cons and come to an independent and sound decision. And what was to be expected under the circumstances happened. The boys were carried away by the appeals to their so-called "patriotism" and were betrayed into extravagances of conduct, regretted by all, who had their true interests at heart. Just about the time of the meeting of the 22nd September, an agitation for the special benefit of the students was set on foot, prejudicing their young minds against the moderate leaders and the school and college authorities. It was said that some of the boys took an active part in breaking up the above meeting and in the subsequent assaults on and insults to, the moderate leaders. I can not say how far this was founded on truth. But this much is certain that an unhealthy spirit was generated among them. They were withdrawn from their legitimate duties, they were taught to break loose from all restraints of discipline and to defy and disregard those in authority over them, and were converted into active agents and instruments of the new party. The natural consequences followed. The boys of the Neill City School began to show

Agitation
among college
and school
boys.

distinct signs of impatience at all rules of discipline. For some time past, I had been engaged in improving the staff. I had succeeded after long continued negotiations and representations in securing from Government an additional monthly grant of Rs. 400 and with this help, had got appointed a distinguished M. A. of the Poona Deccan College as Head Master. We were determined to make an earnest effort to wean the boys from the bad influences, which were causing serious injury to their moral nature and imperilling their chance of acquiring sound knowledge. The new head master was looked upon as our agent for enforcing this policy and he was on this account regarded with disfavour. The immunity which the rowdism of the new party had enjoyed on the 22nd of September also acted as a stimulus to the already rising rebellious spirit of the boys. They began to greet the head master with cries of "Bande Mataram" in season and out of season. They were admonished by him as to the impropriety of their conduct but to no effect. On the matter being brought to my notice, I told him that the boys were just then in an excited frame of mind and that it would be better to take no notice of these "cries." If treated with indifference, they would soon tire of them and cease to give trouble. They, however, soon brought matters to a crisis. A month after these incidents, the Government Inspector of Schools, a Mahomedan gentleman, paid his annual visit of inspection and was greeted with loud shouts of "Bande Mataram," at almost every class to which

Disturbance
in the Neill
City High
School.

he went, in determined disobedience of orders issued by the head master. The Inspector could not overlook this defiantly insulting conduct, and he made an official report about it to me as Secretary, asking the Committee to punish the boys. I had by this time come to the conclusion that the matter had passed the stage when it could be left to right itself. The local organ of the new party would not give the poor boys a chance to come to their senses. Week after week they were told that the school authorities were crushing "nationalism" out of them and that they should show themselves true sons of their "motherland." Accompanied by three members of the Committee, who attended in response to my notice, I went to each class and spoke to the boys. I began with the lowest class. I had no difficulty in putting matters right so far as the small boys were concerned. I spoke to them kindly, pointed out to them the impropriety of their conduct and they readily expressed their regret, explaining that they had merely followed the advice of the elder boys. It was impossible to deal severely with children under 12 years and I excused them, telling them to behave properly and obey their masters in future. The matter, however, assumed a different aspect when we came to the matriculation class. Here we were greeted with defiant shouts of "Bande Mataram." I thought I would try and reason with these boys. I began by expressing my pleasure at being received with such high honour and asked them to complete my satisfaction by repeating the whole song. I called up each boy by turn. I had taken with me the

"Ananda Math." They cut a most ridiculous figure. Not a single boy knew anything beyond the two words "Bande" and "mataram." I then told them that it was a sacred song, instinct with noble thoughts and palpitating with high ideals of patriotism and was meant by its immortal author to serve a better purpose than to be turned into an instrument of insult to school authorities and of defiance of school discipline. If they sincerely wished to learn it so as to be able to use it as its author intended it to be used, a source of inspiration for the awakening of a real spirit of nationalism, I would gladly set apart an hour for so worthy an object. They were at last shamed into the admission that they wanted not to insult but to show their respect to the Inspector by accosting him with their national song. I took them at their word and asked them to put down in writing what they had just said. We then left the class giving them half an hour within which to complete the writing. When we came back to the class, instead of the document being handed over to us, we were received with insulting shouts of "Bande Mataram." Once more I explained to them the serious consequences of their deliberate disregard of all rules of discipline but they had taken leave of their senses and remained defiantly silent. I then told them that it was impossible to allow them to remain in the school and that their names would be struck off the roll. I then left. All this took place in the morning. It seems the boys instead of going home, loitered about the place and gathered in large numbers in and about the open

**Assault on a
Morris
College
Professor.**

grounds attached to the school. The Morris College, as I have had occasion to say before, is located in the same building. The College was closed about the same time, and as its European Professor of English, who had joined the College a short while ago, was getting into his carriage, he was mobbed by the boys and hustled. The Police headquarters are close by and the City Superintendent coming to hear of the row, came to the spot and arrested about 21 boys including one or two College students. The latter were, I may say, perfectly innocent, but in the confusion, the police failed to discriminate, and, finding them among the crowd of boys, arrested them. I came to know all this in the afternoon. By that time the boys had been released on bail. Lying and libellous telegrams were sent all over India by one of the leaders of the new party charging me with having expelled a whole class of 100 boys, because they had greeted me with my own national song, believing in their innocence that it would gratify me and with having handed over a large number of them to the Police for the same offence. It so happened that one of the papers, Indu prakash of Bombay of the 28th October 1907, realising probably the seriousness of the charge against me, published the name of the recorded sender of the telegram. Just for the fun of the thing, one of my friends gave currency to the report that criminal proceedings would be taken against the supposed author of the libel. He at once wired to the papers denying that he was the author. The matter ended here. Fed with the false promise

of the opening of a "National School" by the new party, the students of the school and the College entered into a combination to boycott both the institutions and when they opened at the usual hour on the Monday following, the incident having taken place on a Saturday, not a single student attended. I had done every thing in my power to bring the boys to their senses and end the incident satisfactorily and without humiliating them, for I knew they were more sinned against than sinning. But there was a limit beyond which it would have been disastrous in the interests of the misguided boys themselves to go, and that limit had been reached. The College boarders aggravated the situation by refusing to obey their Principal when he went to them in the Hostel, which is close by, and personally asked them to come to the lectures. They refused giving as an excuse that they were afraid of arrest by the police. Just about this time, a so-called national school, opened at Amraoti to give shelter to some Berar boys, who had been expelled from a Government School for insubordination, collapsed for want of funds. The promised National School at Nagpur also showed no signs of materialising. All this opened the eyes of the deluded boys of our school and college and they in due course made their submission and were taken back. Good has come out of evil, for since then they have been very well-behaved. It is much to be desired that no further attempts will be made to seduce them from the only path wherein lies their true welfare. Their time to take an active part in politics is not yet. Now is the time for

Combination
among
School and
College
students to
defy the
educational
authorities.

them to attend to their studies without distraction and by acquisition of knowledge, to perfect their mental equipment, so that when the right time comes, they may take their proper place in the struggle for national existence and progress that is going on all around us. No sensible man for a moment wishes to smother the sense of nationality that is growing in their minds. No right-minded man can wish them to forget that they owe a duty to their motherland. The more they cherish such sentiments, the better for the country. Loud talkers we have many, but real workers few. Eloquent speeches on public platforms and soul-stirring articles in newspapers will not build a nation. What is needed is work, real solid silent work and a spirit of self-abnegation and self-effacement. It will be a happy day for us, when our students learn to distinguish real work from vapid talk, the self-sacrificing patriot, who works but seldom talks, from the noisy agitator, bankrupt in deeds though rich in words, whose chief aim is self-advertisement and self-aggrandisement. I have perhaps been long over this unhappy school incident, but it is typical of what is going on, in a more or less aggravated form, all over India and so deserves more than a passing notice.

Encourage-
ment of
indigenous
industries.

I have already had occasion to point out that for the past 30 years or so, I have in my daily life tried to use as much as possible articles made in the country in preference to foreign manufactures. I could not but therefore hail with pleasure the rise of the new spirit, which underlies what is known as the "Swadeshi" movement. For some

years past "Swadeshism" had been in the air. The attention of the people had begun to be drawn to the development of local industries to supply local wants. The holding of an Industrial Exhibition side by side with the holding of the Congress at Calcutta in the year 1901 was the first official recognition, if I may so call it, by the Congress leaders, that politics should no longer monopolise the energy of the nation, but that industrial development should find a prominent place in the programme of the Congress. The example set in Calcutta was followed in subsequent sessions. But it was the partition of Bengal, which gave the new movement a tremendous impetus. When all attempts to have it reversed by holding meetings and petitioning Government failed, the idea of "Swadeshism" was seized upon and a new creed, that of a boycott of all goods of British origin was grafted on it, with the avowed object of causing such loss to British trade as would compel attention to and sympathetic treatment of Bengal's grievances. Later on the propaganda was persisted in and vigorously carried on with a view to create discontent in the land and widen the breach between the people and the Government. I have no right to judge of my countrymen in Bengal. They know their business better than I can claim to do. All the same I can not help remarking that their policy was foredoomed to failure. The British Government is never likely to yield to menaces. And as the supplanting of the present rulers by a native government manned by Indians is under existing circumstances beyond the range of practical politics, it is

not, in my humble judgment, a sound policy to create and foster a feeling of irreconcilable race hatred and race-antagonism against a nation under whose rule we have to live. And the result has been that we have divided ourselves into two parties, who are never so happy as when abusing one another in their respective organs in the press. And while we are thus wasting our energy in destroying one another's work, the *real* work, that of advancing our industrial interests, is not receiving the attention it deserves. I do not think we shall lose much if the word "Boycott" were eliminated from our political vocabulary, and our undivided and united attention is directed to the spread of a true spirit of nationality, of self-help and self-reliance and to the introduction of practical measures to develop and encourage our industries, operating hand in hand with a frank recognition of the many and various benefits, which, despite its defects, the present Government has conferred on the country. I firmly believe that the cause we have all of us so much at heart is not likely to be advanced by our drifting into a condition of acute antagonism to the Government. On the contrary, I am convinced there are a great many among the British administrators of India who are honestly devoted to our interests and will help us in our efforts to better ourselves. Even the most prejudiced among us must admit that the Government has been doing something of late to develop our industries, and the best policy, as it appears to me, is to take full advantage of Government measures, while in no way relaxing our own efforts or giving up our own

independent action. The Nagpur leaders have talked themselves almost hoarse in denouncing the Government and in creating an internecine war between themselves and their followers on the one side and those whom they in their charity call "the betrayers of their country" on the other. If they would now abate a little of their great energy in these directions and quietly set down to work and do something tangible to give effect to their professions, they would be earning the blessings of all. It has been said by their own organs that they have collected about 40,000 rupees and their speakers have publicly said they will find no difficulty in raising much more. If so, why not translate words into action without further delay? I for my part may say, and I say it from the bottom of my heart, that my utmost good-will will follow them in their efforts to found a National Industrial School on the lines adopted in Calcutta under the guidance of Sir Guru Das and others, and, if acceptable, my humble services, whatever they may be worth, will be at their disposal. Let me begin again with the Congress. When it was invited to hold its sitting in Nagpur in 1907, it was resolved, following past precedents, to have an industrial exhibition along with it. But at the very outset, the new party created difficulties by insisting on the adoption of the principle that it should be entirely dissociated from Government, official co-operation in any shape or form being absolutely tabooed. The "Moderates" could not agree to this and as a foretaste of what was to come later on, the exhibition was abandoned at

Abandonment
of the attempt
to hold an
industrial
exhibition
along with the
Congress at
Nagpur.

an early stage. Presumably to demonstrate their ability to walk without any outside help, the new party started a movement to open a shop where all Swadeshi articles to be had in the country and needed for our daily use, were to be gathered together and offered to the people at reasonable rates. The shop was opened by their leader after a somewhat imposing opening ceremony, in which eloquent speeches found, of course, a prominent place. But there the matter seems to have ended. The shop no doubt was formally started, but very little has been heard of it since. If it still lives, it is dragging on a somewhat inglorious and unknown existence. In any case, it has failed of its avowed object of successfully helping the people to boycott foreign goods.

An independent industrial exhibition at Nagpur resolved upon.

After the regrettable collapse of the attempt to hold an industrial exhibition in 1907, the leaders of the moderate party opened negotiations with the Government with a view to the holding of such an exhibition in the cold season of 1908. There had been no exhibition in the Central Provinces since the Nagpur Exhibition of December 1866 followed by its replica at Jubbulpore in the following year under the regime of Sir Richard Temple, the first Chief Commissioner. Nagpur was then a landlocked town, 70 miles from the nearest railway on the Bombay side and completely isolated from Calcutta, Mirzapur, nearly 400 miles away, being the nearest point reached by railway from Bengal. The province has made great strides since then. The population has increased from 9 to 13 millions, the exports and imports from 2½ crores of rupees

to nearly 30 crores, the area under crop from 12½ million acres to 17 millions, the number of schools from 1441 with 46,000 scholars to about 3100 with 2,25,000 scholars. We have now a considerable number of cotton mills and gins and presses. Manganese, coal and other minerals have been discovered and several mines are working and the opening of more is in contemplation. Several railways now intersect and traverse the province and connect its principal towns with the ports on both sides of India. A display of the manufactured and raw products of the Province under these favourable circumstances was, it was thought, likely to help its industrial activity and bring it in touch with similar efforts in other parts of India. The response of the Government was most hearty and no time was lost in forming a strong Central Exhibition Committee at Nagpur with branches in every district, in which officials and non-officials combined in friendly co-operation. Of the three Secretaries to the Nagpur Central Committee two are non-officials, my friends Mr. Krishna Rao Phatak, the life and soul of that purely indigenous and successful mill, the Pulgaon Mill and Mr. V. R. Pandit. The official Secretary is Mr. Low, an officer well-known for his broad sympathy for the people and who is now engaged in making a complete survey of the arts and manufactures of the Province. Owing to diminishing strength, I have not been able to be one of the working members, though I am on the Central Committee and two of the sub-Committees. The organization of the details of the work is being actively carried

on and we all earnestly hope the Exhibition will be a success, not as a mere show, but in its permanent and abiding effect on the agricultural and industrial progress of the Province. It will have repaid the expenditure of all the money and the energy that its successful working will entail, if it helps to direct the newly awakened Swadeshi spirit to flow in the right channel.' For we have a vast lee way to make up. As was once said by that great Indian Economist, the late Mr. Ranade, "the political domination of one country by another attracts more attention than the more formidable, though unfelt, domination which the capital, enterprise and skill of one country exercise over the trade and manufactures of another. This latter domination has an insidious influence, which paralyses the springs of the various activities which together make up the life of a nation." We are in this condition and it is only by the adoption of economically sound methods that we can ever hope to make any head-way against the tremendous difficulties that bar our way. Self-denying ordinances preached on the platform and through the press, may serve a valuable purpose by facilitating consumption of such articles as are now produced in the country and also by acting as a stimulus to their production by maintaining a demand for them. But our best energies should be directed to production. It is here that the real difficulty lies. For production means a combination of capital, enterprise and skill and we are sadly lacking in every one of these. Take, for instance, the principle article of our daily use, cloth. We import at present nearly 22 millions

sterling worth every year and it will take long before we can hope to produce this enormous quantity ourselves. This is the opinion of Mr. Bezongjee, one of the greatest authorities on mill industry. And so long as we are not able to do this, foreign goods will flow into the country in spite of all our boycott vows and resolutions. There is one other point, which is often lost sight of. Appeals are made to our mill managers to reduce their rates so as to beat down foreign competition. But the very life of the industry depends on its profitable working and this means selling at the highest rates which the state of the market may permit. To conduct the concern on patriotic as opposed to business principles is only to court disaster. The new spirit is unquestionably an event of the highest importance to us and it behoves us all to stimulate it in the best way we can. Above all it must be engineered by practical business men on sound economic principles and should not be fostered and utilised as an instrument of political rancour and resentment. Such a course must before long bring about a collapse of the movement.

The prescribed term of office of the Municipal members of Nagpur is three years. A new election took place in March last. For some months previous to this, it was given out that the leaders of the new party would make a determined effort to enter the Municipality in order to purge it of members, who had hitherto taken a prominent part in it and had managed it in recognition of the principle that government co-operation was essential to its successful administration. This

Municipal
affairs.

was entirely opposed to the creed of the new party, the most important plank in it being a severance of relations with Government. But even in the freest countries in the world, the functions of city or municipal governments are those which are delegated by the State out of its general coercive and administrative powers and in our case, the Committees are creatures of an Act of the Legislature, which, while it gives them authority to act as corporations within certain defined limits, keeps the ultimate control in the hands of Government. It is thus not possible to run a Municipality independently of Government, much less in defiance of its orders and instructions. Properly speaking, persons professing the faith of the new party have therefore, no place in such an institution. None the less our friends began an active canvass with a view to contest the elections. I considered this a danger. For a quarter of a century, we had devoted our best energies to the work of the Municipality and with the sympathetic help of the officers of Government, had succeeded in introducing many much-needed and highly appreciated improvements. We are engaged in co-operation with Government in elaborating further far-reaching reforms. The introduction at such a juncture of a disturbing element meant not only a possible indefinite postponement of these reforms but the loosening of the foundation of the position already gained and the imperilling of the privilege of local self-government already secured. After the bitter experience of the tactics of the new party in the matter of the Congress, some of my co-adjutors in the Committee were for retiring

from the disagreeable contest, leaving it to the Government to take such steps as it might deem fit to protect public interests involved in the proper administration of municipal affairs. I could not agree to take up this somewhat craven and despondent attitude. The Government had given us a valuable privilege and it was our duty to show ourselves worthy of it. To run away at the first sign of danger was to proclaim our own incompetence. I had thus no hesitation in making up my mind to adopt every legitimate means to frustrate the attempt of our friends to repeat their feat of wrecking what other people had laboriously built up by converting the Municipal Committee into a battle ground for the ventilation of political questions and thereby making it impotent for the purpose for which it existed. All I wanted was a fair fight and no re-enactment of the disgraceful scenes of 22nd September. With this end, I with the help of my friends organised a sort of election committee, selected our own candidates, appointed canvassers in each ward to explain the position to the electors and to impress on them the importance of giving their votes to such persons as would continue the work of the past 25 years. I also wrote and placed in the hands of each elector and the general public a sort of election address, in which I explained the principles underlying the constitution of the Committee, the good work of 25 years and the unfitness of people, permeated by a feeling of bitter animosity against Government, to be members of an institution, which could not be successfully worked except in friendly collaboration with

Government and with pecuniary help from Government to finance all its large undertakings. We met with a measure of success beyond our expectations. This was one more proof that the new party had no hold over the respectable classes having a stake in the country. The new Committee has received an accession of some good men and its composition is such as to be representative of all classes. I may mention in passing that out of 25 elected members, 8 are Mahomedans, most of whom have been elected with the help of Hindū votes. This shows that prejudices of race and religion have no place in the conduct of our Municipal affairs. In fact we are very happy in this part of the country in this respect. The Hindus and Mahomedans here live as brothers, taking part in one another's social amenities, forgetting that they are followers of two different religions. This result had given me great satisfaction. In a Municipal Board you want cool-headed practical men of action, able to bring to bear on its affairs a keen business instinct and experience gained in the conduct of their private affairs. I believe we have got a goodly number of such men in the new Committee. I have just got passed by it a new set of business rules and have also got appointed a number of working Sub-Committees in charge of the various administrative departments. The new members have entered on their duties with zeal and earnestness. I am devoting some of my leisure here in revising the rules and byelaws. With the advance of the people in the knowledge of law and their rights and privileges thereunder it has become very necessary to

regulate Municipal proceedings in strict accordance with all the requirements of law.

The monsoon of 1907 was not a propitious one. It failed in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, thereby causing there an actual famine. We in the Central Provinces have not been so badly off. The rains with us have no doubt been neither copious nor properly distributed and the crops have been of an indifferent character. But as the past few years have been good years, the agriculturists have been able to tide over the partial failure of their harvests with the help of Takavi granted by Government and it has not been found necessary to open relief works on any extensive scale. But a peculiar feature of the year has been the very heavy rise in the prices of food grains. These now stand even at higher figures than in the famine of 1899-1900. This abnormal condition of the grain market has caused great suffering among the classes with a small fixed income and they constitute by no means an inconsiderable section of the population, especially in towns. Owing to a corresponding rise in the wages of labour, the labouring classes have not been much affected. It is however a difficult problem how best to help the respectable middle classes. They will not accept charitable relief, nor will they go to any relief work. The experience gained in the past two famines has suggested only one mode of assisting them, namely, the opening of shops, where food grains are sold at rates cheaper than the prevailing market rates, the resulting loss being recouped by private charity. But even this mode of relief

Great rise of level of prices of food-grains and institution of relief measures in 1907.

can only reach a certain proportion of the sufferers. The really self-respecting will not even go to a cheap grain shop, whatever their privations. Such is the high sense of delicacy among our people. However, the cheap grain shops are very helpful to the lower middle classes. On the first appearance of distress induced by the high prices, we combined with the district officers and with subscriptions raised by our joint efforts, we opened a cheap grain shop at Nagpur. It eased the situation to a considerable extent. The distress in other parts of India becoming acute, an Indian Charitable Relief Fund on the lines of what had been done in the past two famines was opened at Calcutta under the auspices of the Viceroy and we of the Central Provinces were asked to join and co-operate. A public meeting of the residents of Nagpur was held at the Macdonnell Town Hall in April last, the Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Drake-Brockman, in the absence of the Chief Commissioner, who was at the time touring in the distressed parts, presiding. It seems no movement can now be inaugurated without our friends of the new party making their 'existence felt. Up till the date of the meeting, these gentlemen had done nothing to relieve the distress among their countrymen. They could, if so inclined, have started an organization of their own or have joined our cheap grain shop committee. But though invited, they had neither subscribed to our fund nor co-operated with us. The meeting convened by us was intended to be an auxiliary to the Calcutta meeting and yet the leaders of the new party attended it in force and

moved an amendment to the effect that we should constitute ourselves into an independent Committee, in which the officials should have no place and which should maintain no relations with them. I had no desire to take part in the discussion, but had to do so to explain what had been done in the past two famines. I showed by quoting from the records in my possession that the principle that the organization for the distribution of charitable relief should in the main be non-official was fully recognised on the last two occasions, the secretaries and the members of the working committees being mostly non-official. At the same time, to prevent overlapping of State and charitable relief and to obviate the need of a separate establishment for distribution of the latter, especially in the case of agriculturists, it was found necessary to act in co-operation with Government officials engaged in giving State relief. This system had yielded the best results and should not be departed from on the present occasion, those disagreeing with it being at liberty to have their own independent organization. The amendment was lost and a Provincial Committee with two officials, the Judicial Commissioner and the Chief Commissioner, was constituted. Subsequently an Executive committee was formed. I became a member though I could not on the score of failing health accept the Secretaryship. However, I hope to be able to give every help to my friend, Mr. G. L. Subhedar, who has been appointed Secretary. The distress not being by any means severe and the fund likely to be at our disposal not large, the work will be comparatively light.

**Nagpur
Industrial
Exhibition.**

The foundation stone of the building in which the Nagpur Industrial Exhibition is to be held was laid on the 22nd of May. I am sorry I could not be present. I helped from here (Poona) to prepare the address that was read on the occasion. Its key-note is that our future lies in economic progress and that this is a field, which offers the best and widest scope for the co-operation of the rulers and the ruled. As I have already said and I repeat it once more, the Swadeshi movement is one in the right direction. Nothing will advance our best interests more effectively than if the rising generation seek to equip themselves not merely for official employment, or even for the liberal professions, which are already overstocked, but for the higher forms of trade and industry. And they should be taught to profit more by the lessons which the industrial West has to teach us than to cultivate an unreasoning anti-foreign bias. In the creation of a trained middle class competent to develop our agricultural, commercial and industrial resources in the spirit of modern enterprise and science, lies our real salvation. We all hope that the Exhibition will be a step in this direction and in this hope, we wish to do all we can to make it a success.

Here I proceed to record a most unexpected incident in my life. On the 28th of June last (1907) I had gone to bed after my breakfast, not feeling well. When I got up, I found a number of telegrams on my table. The first I took up was addressed to me with the prefix of "Sir". My clients are in the habit of addressing me in

various queer ways. I thought some one of them had repeated the usual mode of beginning a letter with a "Sir" in the telegram. On opening it, I found it was from the Maharaja of Darbhanga congratulating me on my creation as a Knight of the United Kingdom. The next one I opened, was from my Chief Commissioner, the Hon'ble Mr. Craddock. It was to the following effect. "Heartiest congratulation to you and Lady Bose on your well deserved Knight-hood." The rest were in a similar strain. Telegrams and letters of congratulations came pouring in during the next fortnight from various gentlemen, European and Indian, officials and non-officials. I always considered that my services, humble as they were, had been sufficiently recognised by the conferral of the Companionship of the Indian Empire. I hope I will be believed when I say that I expected no further honour. I have nearly reached the end of my labours and it never entered my thought that my services required or deserved further recognition at the hands of Government. I need hardly say I was deeply moved at this unique honour being conferred on me, an honour usually reserved for men in much higher spheres of life. In fact for some days after this I felt considerable embarrassment, when meeting friends or attending Court. For wherever I went, I was overwhelmed with most kindly words of congratulation. My Judicial Commissioner congratulated me in open Court. The Bar Association gave a party, which was attended by officials and non-officials alike, including the Chief Commissioner, the Judicial Commissioner, the Raja of Nagpur and my Indian

friends in large numbers. The Municipal Committee and the District Council, of which bodies I am a member, recorded their sense of satisfaction and sent me congratulatory resolutions. Highly as I prized the honour, it gave me additional pleasure when I found that it has given satisfaction to all who know me. I believe I received over 200 congratulatory wires and letters. I earnestly hope and pray that I may always continue to be worthy of this high honour and that my friends and others who have expressed their pleasure at its conferral may never have occasion to recall the words they have written and spoken in connection with it. May a whole-hearted devotion to the welfare of the Province of my adoption and affection, where I have now passed 36 years of my life, always characterise my public acts during the days that remain to me in this world. May my interest in the institutions with which I am connected never slacken and so long as health and strength last, may I never cease to do what lies in me to help in the maintenance of a high standard of efficiency and probity in our public life.

Calcutta,
May, 1900.

I have come to Calcutta to be present at and take part in the marriage ceremonies of my youngest sister's sons and having nothing particular to do here, I pick up once more the threads of this narrative. The Nagpur Exhibition, to which I have already made reference, was opened by the Chief Commissioner, the Hon'ble Mr. Craddock, on the 12th of November, 1908, before an assembly of four to five thousand people, drawn from all parts of

the two Provinces, Central Provinces and Berar. An attempt was made by those opposed to the principle of co-operation with Government even in matters industrial to boycott it, but it met with no success. The opening address from the Exhibition Committee was written by me and it embodied my views on the subject of industrial development. The show was on the whole a success. Thanks to the energy of Mr. Low and his fellow-workers, on the opening day every thing was found in its proper place. Thousands thronged daily to the beautifully laid out grounds and derived both profit and pleasure from their visit. The agricultural section attracted special attention and the officials of the Agricultural Department were on the spot at specified hours to explain to the people the various improved methods by practical demonstrations of their working. Mr. Low fell seriously ill just at the time when the opening ceremony was performed and greatly to our regret, he had to withdraw himself completely from the work all through the time the Exhibition remained open, which it did till the end of January, 1909. We had to divide his duties among ourselves. I attended daily in the afternoon for about three to four hours to discharge my share of them. I took special charge of the collections. I examined the accounts daily and satisfied myself that all realizations went into the Treasury. I have the satisfaction of knowing that the auditor had no fault to find with this part of the accounts.

Opening of the
C. P. industrial
and
agricultural
Exhibition.

On the night of the opening day, when the people were engaged in seeing the fire-works,

**Desecration
of the Victo-
ria statue in
Nagpur.**

which had been arranged to provide some innocent amusement for the public generally, an event, alike shameful and cowardly, took place. I have in a previous part of this narrative referred to the marble statue of the Queen-Empress which had been set up to commemorate the virtues of her character and the benignity of her influence. This statue was desecrated by the dastardly hands of a wretched misguided youth, a boarder in the Agricultural College Hostel, which is located in the same grounds where the statue stands. Several others were suspected to have been in the conspiracy but he alone was ultimately found guilty by the High Court of the Province, the rest being let off for lack of evidence. Owing to the precautions taken, nothing untoward happened on the Exhibition grounds, but evidently this peculiarly odious method of displaying dissent from the principles which underlay its organization was adopted as it was thought that owing to the loneliness of the place, the crime would go undetected and unpunished. We all felt deeply disgraced that the sanctity attaching to the memorial of a great and good life should have been thus violated.

**Assassination
of Babu Asu
Tosh Biswas,
my brother-
in-law, by the
Bengal
anarchists.**

This event synchronized with the appearance of that new spirit of anarchism which had convulsed India since some time past. That there existed a secret murderous conspiracy which used as its tool impulsive immature youths of disordered intellect to carry out its mandates by assassination, there can be no reasonable doubt. On the evening of the 10th of February, 1909, a private wire was received by a member of the Bar

at Nagpur that the Public Prosecutor of Alipore had been shot dead while in Court by an anarchist youth. He was my sister's husband, Babu Asutosh Biswas. He was at the time engaged in prosecuting a number of persons charged with conspiring to wage war against the Government and to carry out a systematic policy of murder of Government officials, principally Indians, and pro-government people by bombs and other means. Only two days previous I had received a cheery letter from him announcing the brilliant success of his two boys at the M. A. Examinations. Both of them had stood first in their respective subjects and we were then discussing whether they should be sent to England to complete their education. At first I thought there might be some mistake. I did not venture to wire home and had to pass the night in a state of indescribable agony. The next day's papers put an end to all doubts on the subject. He was more than a brother to me. I myself had brought about his marriage with my sister who was very dear to me having been brought up, owing to my mother's serious illness at the time, by my wife as her own child. I had occasion to talk with him about these cases. Those who had incited the youth who shot him did not know that his influence with the Government in this matter was a restraining influence and that but for his judicious advice many more prosecutions would perhaps have been launched. I had often advised him, owing to the severe strain on his health, not by any means robust, which the discharge of his duties as a Public Prosecutor involved, to resign the appoint-

ment but he replied that his resignation at that particular juncture would have been like running away in the hour of danger. I may also mention in passing that he had declined police protection though it had been offered him. Nothing can show more vividly the senseless character of these horrid crimes than the following extract from a speech delivered at a public meeting of condolence at the Town Hall, Calcutta; "The eminent lawyer had never been unfair to the accused. He had never been over-active nor had he put himself forward in the fore-ground. The prominence that he seemed at times to assume was due to his overmastering personality, his mastery of details, a prodigious memory, coupled with a profound knowledge of law."

In May following, I came down to Calcutta to meet my sorrowing sister and my old mother and my meeting with them was indeed a trial. This time (May 1910) I am here to celebrate the marriage of the two boys. The memory of the last year's tragedy has cast a shadow over the ceremonies, which should have been a source of unalloyed joy to us all. The Government has behaved handsomely with the family. To the widow and the eldest son, son of a predeceased wife, has been given a Jaagir yielding an annual income of Rs. 5,000. My sister's elder boy has been appointed an officer of the enrolled list of the Finance Department. The second boy was also offered an appointment, but acting on our advice he has not accepted it. He possesses brilliant abilities. He has stood first at all the University examinations. He has been enrolled

a Vakil of the High Court and while reading for the degree of Master of Law, he intends to follow his father's profession.

Soon after the deportation of nine prominent popular leaders in the two Bengals in the cold season of 1908, the Government of the Central Provinces had under its consideration the expediency of some such measure here. The question was one of considerable difficulty. On the one hand, it was thought that in the interest of good government and orderly progress of the people, it was necessary to adopt measures to arrest the growth of the new gospel of discontent and disaffection. But it was no easy matter to deal successfully under the ordinary criminal law with people who kept themselves beyond its reach by carrying on their work through tools and dupes. On the other hand, it was doubtful whether proceedings under an exceptional law was the best means of meeting the crisis. The New Reform Scheme had just then been published and leaving one matter, special representation of a particular community, it had been received with a chorus of general approval, and it was thought that at this juncture a measure, which was bound to wear the appearance of arbitrary exercise of autocratic power was likely to mar the beneficial effect of this great measure. Further, it so happened that on being called upon to make statements as to their views and policy during the course of the enquiry into the statue case, the leaders of the new party at Nagpur had displayed a desire to retire from the arena of political agitation. Thus the object in view, namely, the

destruction of their power of influencing public opinion in an undesirable direction was likely to be better attained by their willing submission accompanied by a pledge of future good conduct than by their forcible removal from the scene of their operations. Such a measure, though successful so far as they personally were concerned, was bound to evoke public sympathy for them and their cause and by making martyrs of them clothe them with a prestige, which their own merits might not perhaps qualify them for. Again, as a guarantee of their good faith, their special organization was dissolved, their minute books were surrendered and the publication of their two organs in the press was stopped. By these proceedings, they had themselves destroyed the media through which their propaganda had hitherto been carried on. Here the matter ended. I had some hand in these proceedings and in bringing about this satisfactory result.

An incident
in the official
career of my
brother
Basanta
Krishna.

Here I proceed to relate an incident in the official career of my youngest brother, Basanta Krishna Bose. It is not exactly an incident in my own life but as what follows will show he acted throughout under my advice. Another reason why I give it a place here is that it painfully illustrates the difficulties under which the Indian officers of Government labour while trying to do their duty according to the convictions of their conscience. My brother was at the time a Deputy Magistrate of 23 years' standing and was an officer of acknowledged ability and unblemished character with a brilliant record behind him. He was then stationed at Howrah.

In a criminal case before him, a Mahomedan Sub-Inspector of Police was a witness. He had been duly served with a summons but was found absent when called. My brother examined the other witnesses in the case and then again had the Sub-Inspector called out. The man was still absent. He was telephoned for, his station being only a mile off. Still he did not come and when at last he did put in his belated appearance, he merely explained that he had lost sight of the matter. As this could not have been true, my brother decided to take criminal proceedings against him and ordered him into the dock. He had not been there for a few minutes, when the Court Inspector intervened and said to my brother that such a thing would not happen again. Thereupon my brother let go the man and the matter ended so far as he was concerned. A few days afterwards he was astounded to receive the following letter from the Secretary to the Government, "It appears that the Sub Inspector had a "reasonable excuse for his late appearance but "the Deputy Magistrate afforded him no proper "opportunity of explaining the circumstances and "immediately proceeded to treat him as an "accused in a criminal case. His Honor considers "it deplorable that an officer of Babu Basanta "Krishna Bose's experience and reputation should "have so far given way to temper as to treat "another servant of Government in so opprobrious a manner and he directs that Babu Basanta "Krishna Bose shall make a full apology to the "Sub Inspector in the presence of the District "Magistrate. An early opportunity will be taken

“ of transferring Babu Basanta Krishna Bose from “ Howrah.” This was immediately followed by a Gazette notification transferring him to a penal station, reeking with malaria. The genesis of the above order seems to be that after having got out of the scrape he had put himself in by his deliberate disregard of the summons, the Sub Inspector had been to the District Magistrate either directly or through the District Superintendent of Police and had poured into his ears a garbled account of what had transpired in which he had evidently represented himself as an injured innocent. On the strength of this exparte statement made behind my brother’s back and without giving him any opportunity of defending himself, the District Magistrate had confidentially reported against him to the Commissioner, who in an equally confidential manner had handed him up to the Government, and the Chief Secretary, without any attempt to do justice to an officer of my brother’s standing and reputation, had fulminated his order in the name of His Honor the Lieut. Governor. Whether the papers were ever placed before him is doubtful. But my brother was not disposed to take the matter lying down. Acting under my advice and with my help he drew up a statement of the facts and requested the District Magistrate to submit it to the Government and in the meantime to suspend the execution of its order. He positively refused to do any thing of the kind and called upon my brother to comply with the Government order without delay. My brother then appealed demi-officially to the Commissioner for justice but the reply was an equally emphatic

refusal though couched in terms of ostentatious sympathy for my brother in his "unfortunate position." Thereupon, again acting on my advice, my brother sent in his resignation, giving as his reason that he was unable to submit himself to the humiliation of apologising to a Sub Inspector of Police for having dealt with him in his judicial capacity in strict accordance with law. This was evidently wholly unexpected. It never seems to have entered the mind of the officers that an Indian would so far place honour before submission to undeserved humiliation as to throw away his 23 years' service. Pressure was brought to bear on my brother to withdraw his resignation. The Chief Secretary sent for him and lectured him on the enormity of his offence in sending his letter of resignation direct and not through his District Magistrate. In vain my brother explained that he was helpless as that officer had declined to forward the statement previously submitted by him and moreover he had then already made over charge and was on his way to his new station. The real object of the Chief Secretary was to compel my brother to withdraw his resignation and go back to Howrah and there apologise. He returned the letter of resignation and asked my brother to carefully reconsider his position, emphasising that his 23 years' service was "a valuable asset" which should not be lightly wasted. Once more acting on my advice, he resubmitted his resignation. After pointing out that it was absolutely false that he had put the Sub Inspector in the dock in a fit of temper, the covering letter proceeded, "On the contrary,

"in a perfectly judicial manner, I drew his atten-
 "tion to his disregard of the summons and gave
 "him an opportunity to explain. And even when
 "after this I was about to place him temporarily
 "in custody in pursuance of powers vested in me,
 "by law, he did not say he had a valid excuse for
 "his late appearance. Therefore my submission
 "is that I acted rightly and in strict accordance
 "with law and in the sound exercise of my judicial
 "discretion. In the circumstances, I venture to
 "submit that no apology can be due to the Sub
 "Inspector from me. I explained the above facts
 "in the representation which I made over to the
 "Magistrate of Howrah. The Government itself
 "has decided in sundry orders and resolutions that
 "no one of its servants, however humble, is to be
 "condemned or punished without his being given
 "a full and fair opportunity to defend himself.
 "This rule, which is in consonance with every prin-
 "ciple of justice and equity is, to my utter mis-
 "fortune, going to be ignored in my case. And
 "when I respectfully place my official superiors in
 "possession of the above facts in the honest belief
 "that when they come to the knowledge of the
 "Government, I would be absolved, I am only told
 "that my representation cannot be forwarded.
 "I hope I shall be pardoned when I say that I
 "almost cried out in despair that as an officer who
 "has 23 years' faithful service behind him and who
 "has in every respect borne an unblemished
 "character throughout his service, I deserved
 "better treatment."

This brought on a crisis. It looked as if the
 matter had never been properly brought to the

notice of the Lieut. Governor ; but now all the papers with my brother's letter had to be placed before him. Sir Andrew Fraser, who was then the Lieut. Governor, had served in the Central Provinces for 30 years and had known me throughout his career there. He knew Basanta was my brother. I had been asked by friends to write to him on the subject but I had absolutely declined. My brother was equally firm on the point and he insisted on my doing no such thing. We both thought what the exigency of the case required was justice and not favour. Sir Andrew Fraser sent for my brother and in a most kindly manner went through the whole case with him and in the end decided to cancel the Government order. He also cancelled the order of transfer and gave him instead a prize appointment. I had throughout these proceedings asked my brother not to let the matter go into the papers but it seems that the Police could not resist the temptation of publishing to the world the humiliation to which a judicial officer had been put to maintain its prestige. This compelled us to publish the true facts. This was done by my late brother-in-law, Babu Asu Tosh Biswas, who was the only person whom we had taken into our confidence. This elicited the following remarks from the "Capital," the well-known organ of the European commercial community in Calcutta, "That was an ugly story "which was related in the "Bengalee" concerning "the Deputy Magistrate and the Sub Inspector "of Police. The Sub Inspector failed to attend "the Court at the appointed time, and when he

"did turn up, jauntily told the Magistrate that
 "he had forgotten all about it. Basanta Babu,
 "the Magistrate, ordered the Police-man to go
 "into the dock, evidently meaning to proceed
 "against him under the law. However, some
 "Court Inspector or other expressed regret for the
 "man's conduct and he was allowed to go. The
 "man reported his story to his superior and then
 "an enquiry was held at which the Magistrate
 "was neither asked to be present, nor to be
 "represented. And then, apparently upon this
 "exparte statement, an order came to the Deputy
 "Magistrate transferring him to another place and
 "at the same time ordering him to apologise to
 "the Policeman. Thunderstruck at this bolt
 "from the blue, Basanta Babu asked that his
 "statement of the case might be sent up to the
 "Government but this was refused. Thereupon
 "Basanta Babu promptly resigned and resigned
 "twice, for his first resignation was returned by
 "the Chief Secretary. In the long run, the Lieut.
 "Governor got hold of the facts and promptly
 "quashed the whole illegal and rather shady pro-
 "ceedings. What the public want to know is, what
 "punishment Mr.....and Mr..... got or
 "is to get for their conduct in the affair?" I
 leave the case to tell its own tale. It is very
 much to be desired that Government officers
 should learn to treat their Indian subordinates
 as men possessing sense of honour and that they
 should not be condemned on the strength of
exparte statements made behind their back by
 interested parties. This incident took place in
 July—October 1908.

Nagpur had been stricken with plague on several occasions, but never was it so sorely afflicted as during 1909. What added to the sufferings of the people was that the pestilence attained its greatest severity during the rains, when evacuation was attended with great inconvenience. The whole town was rapidly infected and the mortality reached a higher level than in any previous outbreak. The Municipal Committee took energetic measures to cope with the disaster. Extensive areas of land on all sides of the town had been acquired for the ready accommodation of persons camping out. Hutting materials were distributed, to the well-to-do on loan and to the poor, free of charge. Water-supply and lighting and scavenging were provided for in these health camps. Never was inoculation more freely availed of than on this occasion. The operations during this outbreak were on the whole so successful as greatly to remove the prejudice against inoculation and I am sure it will be very largely availed of in the future. Mr. Bezongjee, Manager of the Empress Mills, induced his workmen in large numbers to submit to it and the account he published demonstrated its efficacy. There were certain classes of people who owing either to their dense conservatism or social customs, or the nature of their occupation did not leave their homes in the infected areas nor did they get themselves inoculated, although a reward was promised to every one who would submit to the process. As a consequence, there was great distress and suffering, especially among the well-known weaver communities of Nagpur.

Virulent
outbreak of
plague in
Nagpur in
1909.

So in co-operation with the local officers, we started a relief fund and with the willing help of the ladies and gentlemen of the two local missions organised relief parties, who visited the afflicted people in their homes and distributed the necessary relief in cash, clothes, blankets, invalid's food and medicine. Mr. Chitnavis, the President of the Municipality, took the lead in these operations. He went from one infected house to another giving relief himself in many cases and generally encouraging his subordinates, regardless of his personal safety. The people themselves were perfectly resigned and suffered in silence. They regarded plague more as a punishment for their sins than as a disease to be combated against. We failed to convince the majority of them of their folly in not leaving the infected localities or in not getting themselves inoculated. The heavy penalty in the shape of death of their near and dear ones, which they daily paid, was at least proof positive of the sincerity of their faith, however much we might deplore their ignorance and prejudice. Some were of the opinion that such people did not deserve to be helped, but we thought it would be cruel to deny them relief because they could not be made to look at matters from our point of view. Moreover, there were the poor children and women, to whom we could not deny relief, because the heads of their families would not act in accordance with the latest views about preventive measures against plague. There could be no question these people were very hard-hit. There was scarcely a family which had not lost some of their members,

more often their earning members. And yet the survivors did not even think of seeking protection from the death-dealing scourge by flight. The sufferers themselves behaved very well in the matter of acceptance of relief. The neighbours gave correct information and no attempt was made to take undue advantage of the charity. Everybody realised that relief given to the undeserving was relief withheld from the deserving. Of course relief was accepted with thankfulness, but there was no obtrusive attempt to force the hands of those engaged in giving relief. The state of things disclosed exceeded by far in its sadness what we could have imagined. In dark, dingy corners were found huddled together the sick and the healthy. The latter never cared to think that they might catch the infection but nursed the former as if it was no danger to them to do so. It has since been established that the infection is carried through rat-fleas and not from man to man. But this was not well-known at the time.

One day as I was taking my evening constitutional, I met my Chief Commissioner, the Hon'ble Mr. Craddock. We walked together and talked on various matters. In the course of our conversation, he mentioned that one of the judges of our local High Court was going on leave and asked me whether I would agree to my name being submitted to the Government of India for the acting vacancy. I was taken by surprise and as after 36 years' practice at the Bar one naturally feels more anxious for rest than for accepting new and onerous duties, I hesitated and said I doubted

Appointment
as officiating
Additional
Judicial
Commissioner
C. Pz. 1909.

my physical capacity to cope with the work. He asked me to think over the matter. On the 31st of January, 1909, he wrote to me as follows :

“ You may remember my asking you whether “ in the event of an acting vacancy on our local “ High Court, you would care to officiate as A. J. “ C. You promised to think over the matter. ... “ The work would be A. B. C. to you, but it is a “ question whether your health would stand it. “ I do not think that it would be much of a “ strain because the work will come so easy “ to you and I hope you will be able to under- take it.”

In view of the state of my health and the responsibilities of the office, I hesitated. But this was the first time that an Indian had been offered such an appointment in our Province and in view of the importance of the precedent that would be created, I agreed. The sanction came in due course and I took charge from the 1st of June 1909. On the 16th of June, when the civil side of the Court reopened after the summer vacation, the members of the Bar assembled in my Court and Mr. F. W. Dillon, Barrister-at-Law, spoke to me as follows :—

“ As the senior barrister present it is my “ privilege to offer to your Honour the congratula- “ tions of the Bar on your appointment as a Judge “ of this Court. As a late colleague of ours, “ Your Honour is personally well-acquainted with “ us all. Knowing us so well as you do, you must “ be aware of the mingled feelings of respect and “ affection with which we regard you. We respect

“ you for the strict sense of honour which has at
 “ all times guided you in the discharge of your
 “ duty, and for your wide learning and great
 “ ability as a lawyer, in other words, for qualities
 “ which would have earned for you the place of
 “ a leader at any Bar. On the other hand, you
 “ have endeared yourself to us by your invariable
 “ courtesy and kindness, and by that thoughtful
 “ consideration for others which is said to be the
 “ hall mark of a true gentleman.....It is now
 “ many years since you came to Nagpur, and from
 “ the beginning almost you secured the leading
 “ position at the Bar, a position which you have
 “ since continued to hold. During this period an
 “ immense volume of work had passed through
 “ your hands, so that at the present day your name
 “ is a household word among the people. At the
 “ Bar your influence for good has been incalculable.
 “ You have set a high standard of honour
 “ and duty which has borne fruit in the years
 “ gone by and which must continue to influence
 “ the profession for many years to come.”

I was very much affected and could only say that I would do my best to justify the very kind words spoken of me and the great trust placed on me. The following notices of the appointment appeared in two Law Journals :—

Calcutta Weekly Notes. Vol. XIII. p. clxxxvi.

“ The appointment of Sir Bipin Krishna Bose and Pandit Sundar Lal as Judicial Commissioners in their respective provinces cannot be regarded as mere acts of the Local Governments concerned, but must be looked upon as a partial fulfilment

of the Royal pledges that all appointments under the Crown are open to capable Indians. No doubt, Indians have before this been appointed to the highest judicial offices in the more progressive provinces, but this is the first time that Indians have been selected to fill such positions in the less advanced provinces. As regards the selections, they are unexceptionable. Sir B. K. Bose has occupied the leading position in every respect amongst lawyers in the Central Provinces. He is not merely a capable lawyer but a man of such genuine good nature, mature judgment, sterling honesty and general moral excellence, that he is loved and respected alike in Bengal and the Central Provinces. His deep interest in the welfare of the community and cause of peace and good government made him a most valued adviser to the Local Government and led to his selection as a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council on more than one occasion. He has always been in deep sympathy with all progressive movements and has been ever keen for the promotion of the Swadeshi industries. His natural amiability of character and general kindness of manners have made numerous friends amongst all communities. Both the Government of India and the Local Government are to be congratulated for having made such an excellent selection."

The Allahabad Law Journal Vol. VI (Notes and Cuttings) Page 96.

"Another appointment of note has been made by the Government of India and it is the appoint-

ment of Sir Bipin Krishna Bose to an Additional Judicial Commissionership in the Central Provinces. Sir Bipin has enjoyed for many years a lucrative practice in the Central Provinces and is known to be a lawyer of great ability. He was for many years a member of the Supreme Council and rendered good service in connection with the Civil Procedure Bill in its early stages."

Two parties were given in honour of the appointment, one by some leading citizens of Nagpur and the other by the Bar Association.

I held the office for 8 months and the following statement shows the work I did :—

First Appeals	...	34
Second Appeals	...	280
Miscellaneous Appeals	...	18
Civil Revisions	...	86
Criminal Appeals	...	118
Criminal Revisions	...	115
Mis. Cri. Petitions	...	27
Mis. Judl. Cases	...	8
Total	...	686

These represented all the cases on the file of the Court over which I presided as also some transferred from the file of the Judicial Commissioner. I was the vacation Criminal Judge. The hours generally kept by the Judges of the Court were not by any means regular, but I made it a point to attend punctually at 11. This was a great convenience to all having business to transact in my Court. I always consulted the convenience of every body. I made it a point to study the facts of the cases coming on for hearing

and note the points for argument. This did not mean my forming premature opinions. Of course I was bound to form some opinion after reading the proceedings but this was purely provisional and it never prevented me from appreciating the arguments at the Bar and formulating my final judgment after giving them due consideration. The system I followed had its advantages. It prevented waste of public time and enabled arguments to be concentrated on the vital points. It was never made a complaint of by any member of the Bar. In fact, considering the number of cases I had to get through daily, I could not have done the day's work during the day unless I had followed this system. My method of doing my work was as follows :—I sat down to a study of the day's cases at 6 A.M. and continued to work till the time of breakfast arrived. I was in Court at 11 and was generally able to finish hearing Counsel and parties by 2. I then returned home and wrote judgments till the time came to go out for my evening drive, which I never missed. I preferred writing my judgments in my own study, where I had the advantage of my private library which is fairly complete. I did not work for more than half an hour at night, looking through miscellaneous papers. I was always in bed by 9 and got up at 5. Thus I worked nearly nine hours daily. The work presented no difficulty to me. After 37 years' practice at the Bar, there was no phase of litigation with which I was not familiar and I had my up-to-date private notes carefully prepared from the law reports and journals to help me. I was able to deliver

judgments promptly and there was hardly a case left undisposed of when I attended Court on Monday after two days' recess, Saturday and Sunday. Important judgments were generally written on these days. I had to withdraw myself from much of my miscellaneous unofficial work and by this means and by keeping regular hours, I was able to get through my work expeditiously. I do not think I ever found any difficulty in making up my mind in civil cases, but it was somewhat different in criminal cases. One is at a considerable disadvantage when he has not the witnesses before him and has to form his opinion on evidence taken by another judge. In important and difficult cases I always made it a point to examine with care the Police Diaries as they often showed the development of the case from day to day. The presumption arising out of the ordinary course of human affairs for or against a particular case has often been said by eminent judges to be a good test to apply in cases of conflicting evidence, when truth must lie on one side or other. I must confess I found in some cases a forgetfulness of the well-known principle that a person accused must be presumed to be innocent until his guilt is established by clear and convincing evidence. Again, I found now and then a tendency to imbibe a prejudice against the accused on the strength of what could not be regarded as legal evidence, such as police reports, demi-official correspondence and such like papers. Another thing that struck me was an incapacity to regulate the punishment according both to the nature of the offence as also the status of the

convicted person. The authors of the Penal Code themselves have in their published report said that a sentence of imprisonment which to a man accustomed to live a life of hard manual labour would be considered adequate would be crushingly severe in the case of a man of education and culture, who has never laboured with his hands and have always lived a life of ease and comfort. Again many crimes are cases of isolated lapse from virtue in a moment of forgetfulness or weakness in an otherwise crimeless career. Here the punishment ought not to be unduly severe. Now and then I found these considerations not given the weight they deserved. I reduced the sentence in such cases. On the other hand, I did not hesitate to enhance the sentence in some cases of theft accompanied by acts of brutal violence to those robbed and in one case, where a man had been murderously attacked in a vital part and made to lose his manhood for life because of a miserable quarrel about a depraved woman, on whom the accused had no sort of a claim. But it is the death cases which gave me the greatest anxiety. A sentence of death once carried out can never be recalled. And considering how often we fail in judging matters rightly, the passing of such a sentence involves a most heavy responsibility. The taking of life under the sanction of law can never be consistent with human feelings, and where another form of punishment, which is adequate, is allowable, it ought whenever just and proper, to be adopted in preference to the death sentence. Thus in these cases I always looked at the motive for the

crime and the surrounding facts with a view to discover, if possible, some mitigating circumstances. And where I found any, I commuted the sentence to one of transportation for life. To my misfortune, I had to uphold the death sentence in four cases. I am not ashamed to confess that I looked upon this necessity as a misfortune. Those were all cases where there could be no doubt whatever about the guilt and where the crime was of a brutal and diabolical character. To refuse to confirm the sentence in such cases would have been tantamount to my abolishing the capital punishment by a judicial decision in disregard of the law. The condemned men all appealed to the Local Government for exercise of the prerogative of mercy but without success. I may mention here an amusing talk I had with an Indian Magistrate. He said, officers in his Province (Berar) thought I must be a Brahmin seeing that I so seldom confirmed a death sentence. I told him to tell those gentlemen that though I could not claim that honour, I did not think that human life was to be taken away with a light heart. Another high officer, an European, once told me that my acquittal in a murder case had a very bad moral effect. I promptly told him that it was no function of a Judge to look to the moral effect of his judgments. He had to decide according to the evidence and if he allowed the so-called "moral convictions" to influence his decisions, he failed in his duty as a Judge. This was a case where a lad of 14 had by means of considerable pressure, admittedly continued for two days, been made to confess, a confession which was promptly

retracted as soon as he appeared before the Court. Even the so-called confession was not a confession of murder at all but a mere statement that he had been taken by another man to the place where the murdered man slept and told to hold him down to the ground. As soon as the boy attempted to sit on his chest, he woke up and cut him (the boy) in the face with a knife, which made him run away. He did not know what took place afterwards. The real murderer, owing to the incapacity of those in charge of the case, was not caught. *

I had some "political" cases. I brought to bear on their decision a perfectly judicial mind and I flatter myself I succeeded. In one case, where the complaint was that the accused, who were all men of position and respectability in the village, had burnt a foreign dhoti in furtherance of what is called the Swadeshi movement, I had, sitting as a Court of Revision, sent back the proceedings for further enquiry. A careful examination of the papers had convinced me that the Judges of the Courts below had not approached the case from the right stand-point and some important matters which should have been properly enquired into had not been dealt with. I had to make over charge soon after and the case finally came up before the Judge for whom I had officiated. He severely criticised my order as contravening the law which governed the exercise of revisional powers by the High Court and what he called the principle of "decentralisation." He specially dwelt on the impropriety of my conduct in not accepting as conclusive the concurrent findings of fact by two European judges of ex-

perience and ability, as he thought. It was, however, forgotten (1) that he had no power whatever to sit in judgment over me, and his remarks were as un-called for as they were unsound, (2) that the High Court has full power in revision to go into questions of fact if it thinks that justice requires it and (3) that the Court has to form its own opinion on the facts as disclosed and is not to be deterred from doing so because the judges of the Courts below are officers of experience and local knowledge. Although I had not much criminal practice, yet as the same considerations apply to the testing of evidence in criminal cases as in civil cases, the only difference being that in the former you are always bound to give the benefit of every doubt to the accused, I think I could say without being guilty of egotism that I was as able to appreciate at its proper value evidence in criminal as in civil cases and I could not surrender my own judgment of what was right and proper to the opinion of judges of Courts below, however able and experienced. I came to know of this incident long afterwards, when it was too late to have my say in the matter. I had another somewhat similar case, where a person was prosecuted for "boycotting" a theatre, whose proprietor had refused to subscribe to a political fund. The point involved was a novel one and I had no Indian cases to guide me. I studied carefully the English cases bearing on the subject and came to the conclusion that a technical offence had been committed. The accused was a young pleader. I reduced the sentence of rigorous imprisonment to one of fine.

I had worked very hard, though fortunately I had maintained all throughout good health, and I was not sorry to be relieved. I may state here that I had come to no settlement about my pay before assuming charge. What was actually given me was not the full pay of the appointment, but only a part of it calculated under some provision of the Civil Service Regulations, which was unknown to me. I was advised by some friends to make a representation on the subject, but I declined, as pecuniary gain was not my object in accepting the post.

Calcutta
demonstra-
tion at the
death of King
Edward VII.

While I am here, there took place at the Calcutta *Maidan* a demonstration which should have a place in this narrative. King Edward VII had just then died and my countrymen of Calcutta decided to observe the 20th of May, 1910, as a day of universal mourning. Bare-footed and clad in pure white, which is the emblem of our national mourning on the occasion of death in the family, they assembled in their thousands at the *Maidan* to give expression to their feelings. The great magnates, the middle class men, the educated and the illiterate, all without any distinction participated in the function with the intensity of feeling as if of a personal bereavement. A life-size portrait of the late King-Emperor was placed at the foot of the Ochterlony monument, a landmark in the *Maidan*, before which thousands were seen to bow with deep veneration. There were *Sankirtan* parties who chanted sacred songs befitting the occasion. Pathetic songs, surcharged with deep feelings and giving unmistakable testimony to the profound sorrow at the loss of a

sovereign who was truly their "friend and father," as was said by the bereaved Empress Alexandra, were sung by thousand throats. This unique out-burst of feeling showed as nothing else could that the Bengalees, though at times severe critics of government, were at heart thoroughly attached to the British throne. I was also in Calcutta in February, 1901, when a similar demonstration took place on the occasion of the death of Queen Victoria. I could not say which was more imposing or more demonstrative of the intense feeling of attachment of the people to their sovereigns, who, though sitting on a throne thousands of miles away, had moved their hearts by proclaiming them as their subjects possessed of equal rights and privileges with those who were of their own race and faith.

It is after an interval of nine years that I am able to resume this narrative. I have no longer the strength to carry on sustained brain work for long and I have had many matters to occupy my time. I have referred to the great Calcutta demonstration in connection with the death of King Edward VII. In September 1910, a movement was initiated in Nagpur for a memorial to him. A Provincial Committee was appointed at a public meeting to consider what form the memorial should take and to raise funds for the same. I was made a member of its Executive Committee. This Committee was able to raise a little over two lakhs of rupees. With accumulated interest resulting from judicious investment by the Honorary Secretary, my friend, Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit, the face value of the

Nagpur
May, 1919.

C. P. King
Edward
Memorial.

funded capital now amounts to two lakhs and eighty-eight thousand rupees yielding an annual income of little over Rs. 11,000, all invested in Government securities. After considerable discussion it has been decided to devote the income to "the institution of prizes, stipends, scholarships, fellowships and the like for the promotion of education, general, literary, scientific, technical, agricultural and industrial, among the people of the Central Provinces and Berar". I take this from the statement of the object in the Memorandum of Association of the "Central Provinces and Berar King Edward Memorial Society for the promotion of education among the people of the Central Provinces and Berar", a Society which has been registered under the literary, scientific and Charitable Societies Registration Act, 1860. I look upon this as a most appropriate method of perpetuating the memory of a sovereign who during his short,—much too short,—reign was able by his strong sympathy for his Indian subjects to win a degree of loyalty to his throne and a confidence in his sense of justice which were only equalled in the case of his august Mother. It may not be out of place to mention here that I was asked whether I would like to have my name submitted to the Viceroy for selection as a representative of the Central Provinces on the occasion of the Coronation of His Majesty King George V in London in June 1911. To my infinite regret, I had to give a negative reply, for my health would not permit me to leave India, or for the matter of that my home, where alone I could have the comforts and conveniences I sorely need.



I have referred to the grant by the Chief Commissioner, Sir Reginald Craddock, for the location of the Morris College, of the historic building known as the "Residency". It was constructed during the late Nagpur Raja's *regime* for the Resident at his Court. It was from the formation of the C. P. Administration till the construction of the new Government House on the Sadar Bazar Hill used as residential quarters for the Chief Commissioner. Necessary additions and alterations costing about Rs. 25,000, all paid by Government, having been made to suit the building for the requirements of the College, it moved into it in July 1911. I have also made mention of the very snbstantial help given by Government to improve and strengthen the staff. At this time, out of a total annual expenditure of over Rs. 48,000, the Government gave a little over Rs. 39,000. It also bore the whole of the expenditure in connection with the teaching of science to our students in the Victoria Technical Institute, now called the Victoria College of Science. It has a laboratory fully equipped to teach up to the B. Sc. standard. The only contribution which the Society was able to make towards the up-keep of the institution was the interest on the capitalised securities amounting at this time to Rs. 6,300. Provision of hostels is one of the most important requisites of collegiate life. To quote the words of the Government of India resolution of 1904, "These institutions protect the students who live in them from the moral dangers of life in large towns, they provide common interests and create a spirit

Morris
College
again.

of healthy companionship and they are in accord not only with the usage of English public Schools and Colleges but with the ancient Indian tradition, that the pupil should live in the charge of his teacher". Construction of a new hostel on the grounds of the "Resideney", which are extensive, was part of the scheme for housing the College in it. A plan for a hostel with accommodation for 80 boarders and capable of expansion to meet future developments was prepared and it was estimated to cost Rs. 60,000. The Government agreed to bear half the expenditure and the Council was to provide the other half. By appeal to the well-wishers of the institution and in other ways, it was able to raise Rs. 15,000. The remaining Rs. 15,000 came to be provided for from an unexpected source. I have alluded in a previous part of this narrative to a legacy of Rs. 75 000/- by Colonel Hector Mackenzie for the benefit of the people of these Provinces. He had always taken a deep interest in the diffusion of education among them and the Neill School owed much to him. It was thus appropriate that the Morris College which was an extension of the efforts which founded and sustained the Neill School should participate in the benefit of this bequest. On my representing matters in this light in my capacity as Secretary to the College Council to the proper authorities, the scheme of distribution sanctioned by the High Court of Calcutta provided for the payment of Rs. 15,000 to the funds of the Morris Memorial Society. The money was to be appropriated towards the cost of the hostel, which was to be called "the Hector Mackenzie Hostel."

Colonel
Hector
Mackenzie's
munificent
gift to the
Central
Provinces.

I can not help transcribing here his parting words when replying to an address which was presented to him in the Neill School Hall by the citizens of Nagpur. They are still fresh in my memory. He said, "I earnestly desire for the people of this country, for the people of these Provinces and in a special manner for the people of this City, where I have lived so long and enjoyed so much, constant progress in all good ways, in knowledge, in wisdom for a right use of knowledge, in such material prosperity as aids goodness, in public contentment, in the happiness of the family, in the welfare of each individual. This, which I earnestly desire, I shall ever be solicitous for."

With the completion of the arrangements mentioned above, it was thought that there would be no need of further improvements in the near future. But in these days when the Province is making such rapid progress in all directions, there is no such thing as resting on one's oars. The influx of students went on increasing and within three years of the time when the College moved into its new quarters, the Council had to think once more of further strengthening the staff. It became necessary to make arrangements to teach more subjects both in the B.A. and the M.A. classes. As it was out of the question to provide the large recurring expenditure which this further enlargement of the usefulness of the College was to entail from private subscriptions, there was no other alternative but to appeal once more to Government. But it very rightly pointed out that even as it was the institution was being practically run with State funds, the funds of the Society

Provinciali-
sation of
the Morris
College.

meeting a mere fraction of the expenditure, both recurring and non-recurring. The Government accordingly proposed that the College should be provincialised. The Council agreed to this and made a reference to the members of the Society. They met twice and not being in a position to provide for additional funds commensurate with the needs of the College, they decided on February 28th, 1914, to hand it over to Government in order that it might be made into a purely Government institution. At the same time they decided to modify the rules so as to allow the funds of the Society to be utilised for some other educational purpose. After due consideration, the object of the Society was altered so as to allow the income from the endowment fund after providing for pension to four old Indian professors, who had been attached to the College almost from its foundation, to be applied to the following purposes, (1) scholarships to Morris College students and to its ex-students for post graduate education and (2) establishment and maintenance and improvement of any private educational institution for the promotion of secondary education. The proposal to provincialise the College had to go up to the Secretary of State for sanction and he directed that the endowment fund should be handed over to Government for expenditure on the College, as it had been specially raised for its establishment and support. But I on behalf of the members of the Society pointed out that the money had been raised not to support a Government but a private institution to be managed by an agency of their own

creation and further that they had the right under the provisions of Act XXI of 1860 to alter the purpose of the Society to any other purpose within the meaning of the Act, namely, promotion of literature and science and diffusion of useful knowledge. The new purpose decided upon by them fully complied with this condition. This satisfied Government and the Society with a new Governing Body has now been reconstituted. I have ceased to be its Secretary but am still a member. My grandson, Vivian Bose, has been appointed Secretary. I may note here that unlike what had happened on a previous occasion of a like nature, the handing over of the College to Government did not attract any adverse criticism from any quarter. Its necessity and utility were recognised. The administration of the endowment fund by a body constituted by the subscribers, an arrangement duly secured by the new rules was also a factor in this general satisfaction. I shall speak presently of the proposal to found a separate University for the two Provinces, which was to be both a teaching and an affiliating University and the Morris College is to be its nucleus. It is to be hoped that the future students of the College will remember that it owes its origin to the exertions of their own people and that it is these exertions continued for thirty years that have made possible the present state of things under which it has matured into a first class institution of its kind. It is further hoped that they will be proud of their *alma mater* and so comport themselves in their after lives as to establish and

maintain for it a high reputation for building up a disciplined mind and character and turning out good and useful citizens of this great country who by their thoughts and actions will add to the moral energy of the nation.

Mr. Bapu
Rao Dada.

Once or twice I had made mention of my friend Mr. Bapu Rao Dada. He was the first M.A. from these Provinces and I made his acquaintance in 1884, when resigning Government service, he joined the Nagpur Bar. In the municipal election held in that year, he was returned as a member. He also became a member of the Morris College Council when it was constituted in 1885. From that day till the date of his death, March 2nd, 1914, I was on terms of the closest intimacy with him and was associated with him in almost every public institution and movement with which I was connected. Whether it was his high intellectual ability, rare administrative capacity, devotion to the public cause, or self-less love for his country, there was none in the whole Province for whom I had higher regard, or in whose judgment I could rely with surer confidence. It was no less a pleasure than a privilege to have him as your co-worker. In 1913, his health began to fail and it never improved. But though he practically retired from his lucrative profession, he never relinquished charge of his manifold public duties which he continued to discharge almost to the last day of his life. I know that even when suffering great pain, he would receive as usual the Municipal files as Vice-President of the Committee and they would be ready for the pen on the next morning with his orders thereon. I realised

ere long that the end could not be long delayed. Nevertheless when it came, it overwhelmed me. I had fourteen years ago lost my dear brother. I felt just as I had felt then, at the passing away of my life-long friend and co-worker. I immediately called a meeting of the Municipal Committee and had the following resolution passed :—

“ The members of the Committee have learnt with the deepest regret the death of their colleague, Rao Bahadur Bapu Rao Dada, which sad event took place on the night of Monday last. The Rao Bahadur entered the Municipality as an elected member on the 1st of April 1884 and became its Vice-President in 1890. His connection with the Committee thus begun only came to an end with his death. During this long period of 30 years, the Municipality had the rare privilege of being guided by his high ability, ripe wisdom and selfless devotion to duty. To the administration of its affairs in all its branches, especially finance, he ungrudgingly gave the best that was in him and spared neither time nor trouble to promote its interest and advance its cause. In the early days of the life of the Committee as constituted on the principle of Local Self Government, when the difficulties of the situation were naturally very great and when one false step might have discredited the whole institution and thrown back the progress of Local Self-Government in Nagpur for years, it was his great tact and administrative capacity that enabled the Committee to grapple successfully with the various complex problems

that confronted them and gradually to build up the present machinery for the government of the local affairs of this town. To the last, he continued to work for the Committee with the whole-hearted devotion of his youthful days, a devotion which neither failing health nor diminishing power of work could affect. The obligations of the Committee to their late Vice-President for what he did for them can never be adequately repaid or acknowledged. All that the Committee can do is to join in the general mourning for a great and good citizen and offer to his memory their tribute of respect for his character and admiration for his ability. They feel the void his disappearance has created it will be difficult to fill. They beg to place on record their highest appreciation for his invaluable services. They condole with those near and dear to him, whom he has left behind to mourn his loss, in their great grief. May his life and work be in the days to come a living source of inspiration to the Committee."

Similar resolutions were on my motion passed by the Morris College Council, the Nagpur District Council and the Neill School Committee, of which bodies he was member. At a public meeting held on the 7th of March, 1914, with myself as Chairman, his beneficent activities were summed up in the following resolution :—

"The people of Nagpur place on record their profound grief at the death of Rao Bahadur Bapu Rao Dada and their highest appreciation of his eminent services in the past thirty years. During this period he was closely asso-

elated with almost every movement and institution having for its object the promotion of the common weal. His work as a Member and Vice-President of the Municipal Committee for over a quarter of a century has already been gratefully acknowledged by that body. He was for 18 years a member of the Nagpur District Council and for three years was its Honorary Secretary. His services in these capacities have also found fitting recognition in the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council. In July 1884, he became a member of the Neill City School Committee and cordially co-operated with those who laboured to found the Morris College in order to give Nagpur an institution to impart higher education. He became a member of its governing body when it was first constituted in June 1885, and gave invaluable help at every stage of its progress and development. During the famine of 1896-97, he was in charge of the special charitable relief to weavers and to the respectable poor through cheap grain shops and how admirably he managed these departments of relief will be found acknowledged in the pages of official reports and in the proceedings of the Charitable Relief Committees and of the Famine Commission of the period. In the still more grievous famine of 1899-1900, he was also in charge of these branches of relief and rendered equally valuable services. During the scarcity of 1907, he gave the benefit of his ripe experience to those engaged in the distribution of charitable relief. During the severe epidemic of plague in the city in 1909, he was an active member of the

Committee appointed to administer charitable relief to the widows and orphans of the victims and to the sufferers generally. He was one of the founders of the Malguzari and Loka Sabhas and took a prominent part in their deliberations and activities including submission of representations regarding legislation regulating the relations of Government with the malguzars and of the malguzars with their tenantry and the Land Revenue policy of the Government generally. He was a prominent member of the Provincial Congress Committee and attended several sittings of the Congress. His benefactions to the public were many and various. Unostentatiously made, they were not generally known. His last act in this direction, the founding of a Maternity Hospital and General Dispensary in the heart of a locality in the City where the poor Koshti community predominate will, however, bear public testimony to his wisely-directed charity for the suffering humanity. The guiding principle of all his public acts and proceedings was a single-minded desire to advance the general good and entire abnegation of self and all those considerations which have their origin in self-advancement. In all he put his hands in, he laboured with a whole-hearted devotion and under a severe sense of public duty and spared neither himself nor his hard-earned leisure in the midst of an engrossing profession to attain the end in view. The indebtedness of the public of Nagpur to such a citizen and public benefactor is immense. It can scarcely be adequately repaid. The meeting earnestly hopes and prays that his good and unselfish life

and example will in all time to come, have a vivifying influence on the public life of Nagpur and inspire its citizens to follow in his footsteps."

With heart sick and sore, I thus strove to do my duty by my departed friend. I left it to his fellow-countrymen, especially of this town, for whom he had laboured so long and to whose services he had given his life-blood, to establish some permanent memorial which would always put them in mind of their great citizen and which would enable them to profit by the lessons his life of strenuous labour for the public good taught. In this, I have been grievously disappointed. Not even a portrait of him is to be found in the local Town Hall, which he had helped to give to the city. There on its walls, I have these several years arranged to place the portraits of some of those who had worked for the good of this town, Rambhaji Rao Mahadik, Mukund Balkrishna Bootee, Gopal Hari Bhide, Narayen Swamy Naydu, Bhargao Rao Gadgil and Krishna Rao Phatak. I could any day have added to these my friend's portrait but I have not done so. For I felt that what the occasion demanded was not a memorial by me his personal friend but by those, his countrymen, who had so greatly benefitted by his services. Moreover, the occasion called for some thing more than a mere likeness of him. I dare say the people will in a few years even forget that there was ever such a person as Bapu Rao Dada among them.

One or two incidents of his political life may not be out of place here. When it began, these Provinces were like a Sleepy Hollow. In 1886,

The Calcutta
Congress
of 1886.

he and another deceased friend and co-worker, Krishna Rao Phatak, founded the Loka Sabha, the first political association among us. The first Congress had been held at Bombay in the year previous. Its next sitting was announced to be held at Calcutta in December 1886. Girija Bhusan Mukherjee, who was my College friend, was one of its Secretaries and organisers. He wrote to me to try and send some representative men as delegates from Nagpur. I was then Judge of the Small Cause Court. In those days it needed no small courage to take part in political movements in our Province. The Congress, just then brought into existence, was looked upon with distinct disfavour by the official hierarchy. I spoke to Mr. Bapu Rao and he not only readily agreed to go himself but took with him as co-delegates, Mr. (now Sir Gangadhar Rao) Chitnavis, Gopal Hari Bhide and Abdul Aziz. The last was a member of the Bar and came of a respectable family of military pensioners of Kamptee. They were duly elected at a public meeting convened for the purpose. Mr. Abdul Aziz was a finished Urdu speaker and he made a telling speech in that language at the Congress. He died many years ago while yet in the prime of life, much to the regret of us all. Girija Bhusan was also carried off by the cruel hand of death soon after and my native country (Bengal) lost in him one of its brilliant young men and a self-less worker. I had a talk with Mr. Bapu Rao after his return from Calcutta and one interesting piece of news he gave me, which has never been made public, I may as well give out here. He said that Mr.

Chitnavis and he were among those whom the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, had graciously received, not as delegates of the Congress, but as "distinguished visitors to the Capital". In the talk which His Excellency had with the President, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the matters soon came to a crisis and when Mr. Naoroji said that he and his friends were determined to carry on the propaganda vigorously until success was attained, His Excellency said, what if in the public interests he were to stop their dangerous activities by putting into operation both his ordinary and extraordinary powers in that behalf. Mr. Naoroji promptly replied that His Excellency might please himself and that he and his friends never expected to reach their goal except through many troubles and tribulations. I have given only the outline of what took place as reported to me. No publicity was given to the incident by any of the delegates present. It would have scared away many from the cause, who might otherwise have joined it. Constitutional organised public agitation was then yet in its infancy. Just before the sitting of the fourth Congress at Allahabad, Lord Dufferin, who was then about to vacate his high office, publicly made a severe attack on it at a banquet given in his honour by the non-official European community of Calcutta. It may be of interest now to quote some of his words ; "the (Congress) ideal authoritatively suggested as I understand is the creation of a representative body or bodies, in which the official element shall be in a minority, who shall have what is called the power of the purse, and who

The
Allahabad
Congress
of 1888.

through this instrumentality shall be able to bring the British executive into subjection to their will." This attitude of open official hostility made it difficult for a backward Province like ours to get people to attend this Congress. Mr. Bapu Rao went as usual. Mr. Eardley Norton has just published some interesting reminiscences of this Congress. One omission of his I will here supply. He himself took an active part in the proceedings. He moved the second resolution which embodied the opinion of the Congress dissenting from some of the important recommendations of the Public Service Commission, whose report had just then been published. He was greeted with several rounds of applause as he left his Madras colleagues and got on the platform. In spite of the ten minutes rule, he with the enthusiastic assent of the whole audience spoke for half an hour and his speech was certainly the speech of the day. I still remember it. One remark of his was immensely appreciated. Referring to Raja Shiva Prasad's motion for the adoption of a petition he placed before the meeting condemning the Congress and its aims, Mr. Norton said that they must all rejoice at the "happy issue to the interesting condition from which the Raja had just then been delivered." Regarding Lord Dufferin's attack, it may be of interest to recall how it was met. Mr. Telang, who moved the resolution asking for the expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils, referring to the attack said that His Lordship's description of Congress ideals was as appropriate to the realities of the case as the famous definition of a crab, namely, that it was a fish, was red and walked

backwards. As a matter of fact, he said, a crab was not a fish, was not red and did not walk backwards. How we have moved since then ! What in 1888 was said by great Congress leaders as a travesty of Congress demands is now the declared policy of the British Cabinet and a Bill has just been introduced in Parliament to give it effect. The Allahabad Congress was held under great difficulties. Sir Aucland Colvin, the Lieutenant Governor, was the reputed author of the well-known article in the Pioneer on the great national demonstration to Lord Ripon when he retired, "If it is real, what does it mean." But the Congress with its propaganda had apparently frightened him out of his liberal views and he had become its bitter opponent. The local officials hampered the efforts of the Reception Committee to make proper arrangements. But in its Chairman, Pandit Ajodha Nath, it had a man of iron will, indomitable courage and indefatigable energy. His speech welcoming the delegates was one continued denunciation of the obstructiveness of the local officers. His thrilling words that he and his colleagues were more loyal to their Sovereign and her representatives than those who made a parade of their devotion to Government by abusing their countrymen, were received with such ringing cheers by the huge audience as would have convinced even the most sceptical that attachment to the British throne and the British connection was the very life of the movement. Sir Pherozeshah (then Mr.) Mehta in proposing that merchant prince of Calcutta, Mr. Yule, as President, made a telling

hit when he said that the President at the previous Calcutta sitting was Lord Salisbury's "black man," but who despite his being "black" was esteemed and loved from one corner of India to another. Mr. Norton in his reminiscences has referred to the threatened split on the question of the Public Service Commission's Report. It was Mr. Mon Mohan Ghosh, who by his most powerful and at the same time persuasive speech, albeit it did not last more than fifteen minutes, brought about a satisfactory compromise to the relief of all. Altogether this Congress was a conspicuous success. It had met under conditions calculated to test all the qualities of manhood of the nation. It stood the ordeal not merely successfully, it displayed all those high qualities of moderation combined with boldness, firm determination combined with circumspection and self-restraint under great provocation, which go to build up a nation. We are now reaping the fruits of what was sown by the leaders of these old days. They are the real builders of the present Indian Nation. Let us not forget them and their great work.

I cease to be
Government
Advocate.

Just about the time I was to vacate my officiating appointment as a member of the Judicial Commissioner's Court, I had intimated to Government that I would like to be relieved of the Court work of the Government Advocate, the duty of advising the Administration on legal matters still remaining with me, if it so desired. In March 1911, Mr. Dick, a member of the Nagpur Bar, was appointed Standing Counsel and he took over all my criminal work. This gave me great relief. In April 1913, the Govern-

ment created the post of Legal Remembrancer and appointed a member of the I. C. S. to the post. Thereupon I ceased to be Government Advocate. The dual duties I used to discharge as Government Advocate is now shared between the Standing Counsel and the Legal Remembrancer. I believe the Standing Counsel alone now gets two to three times what I used to receive. I mention this fact as a high officer of Government, with whom I once had a talk about my work and the remuneration I received for it, had said to me that he thought I was quite handsomely paid.

On the morning of 20th of February, 1915, a private message was received at Nagpur that Mr. Gokhale was no more. He had expired the night previous. We knew he was seriously ill and could not live long. But we had hoped that he would be able to leave some record of his views as a member of the Public Service Commission. There can be no question but that his end was quickened by the bitter and malicious controversies raised at the time. But remembering that great public interests were involved in the prolongation of his precious life even for a short while, it was not too great a sacrifice to make to leave him in peace while in the grip of his death-illness, so that he might leave to his country men the legacy of his invaluable opinion. But that was not to be. I made his acquaintance when he first took his seat as a member of the Viceroy's Council as Sir Pherozesha Mehta's successor on the 20th of December 1901. Sir Pherozesha

C. P. and
Berar
Gokhale
Memorial
and some
personal
reminiscences.

ostensibly resigned on the ground of ill-health but, I believe, he retired in order to give Mr. Gokhale a wider scope to serve his country. On Mr. Gokhale's unanimous election by the Bombay Council, Sir Pherozesha wrote to me, that we would have as our colleague one who would soon make his mark in the public life of the country. Mr. Gokhale was then not much known. For eighteen years he had given the best that was in him in discharging the obligation of his pledge to an institution, which was and still is the embodiment of the highest spirit of ungrudging self-sacrifice for the public good, the Fergusson College of Poona. But he had not till then taken any conspicuous part in the public life of the country. Those who had read his evidence before the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure of 1897 knew what a careful and capable student of Indian economics he was and how deeply read in all that concerns the government of the Empire. We had no introduction to one another. None was needed. I knew he was Mr. Gokhale the moment I saw him in the corridor of the Council Chamber, where we were waiting for the arrival of the Viceroy and we had a warm mutual *namashkar*. It did not take long before he made his personality felt. His very first budget speech (delivered in March 1902) showed the man as he was. It was a comprehensive criticism of the whole financial policy, result of most careful and exhaustive study. The Finance member said in reply that Mr. Gokhale had dealt with so many questions and in such

detail, that not having sufficient notice to prepare careful answers, he was unable to give the full reply he should have been glad to offer. Throughout the time we were both in Council, and that was four years, we remained on terms of the closest intimacy. I need hardly say how greatly I profited by exchange of views with him on all public questions of the day. We used to meet often either at his place or at mine or at the residence of Babu Shishir Kumar Ghosh of the Amrita Bazar Patrika. Our discussions were frequent and at times animated. He used to chaff me in those days as his "brake." Later on he himself set up as the inspiration of his public life Mr. Ranade's well-known ideals as set forth in the prospectus of the Deccan Sabha :—"Liberalism and Moderation will be "our watchwords..... Moderation implies the "conditions of never vainly aspiring after the "impossible or after too remote ideals, but "striving each day to take the next step in the "order of natural growth by doing the work "that lies nearest to our hands in a spirit of "compromise and fairness." We all know his courage. No finer example of this could be found than in the manly apology he made for his attack while in England on English soldiers in connection with plague-measures in Poona in 1897, as soon as he was convinced that it was unmerited. Like the tall cliff in the well-known passage of the poet, he stood unmoved at the rolling clouds of calumny. Soon after this incident, that is, in December, 1897, he attended the Amraoti Congress and the chilling, I had almost said

hostile, reception he received from its extreme radical wing would have driven another man in disgust from public life. The feeling in this quarter was so strong that he could not be included in the list of speakers. But firm in the conviction that he had acted rightly and as a man of honour should, he stood unmoved and met the demand for his retirement from public life with the noble reply that he would go on doing his duty, whether it be sunshine or shade, for public duties undertaken at the bidding of no man, was not to be laid down at the desire of any one. We know also how magnificently he was equipped for his high duties. But his wonderful grasp of public affairs was not an intuition or inspiration. It was the result of prodigious industry, hard study, strenuous preparation and severest discipline acting in combination with intellectual gifts of the highest order. But I speak of him here as I knew him in private life. What a life it was. Its simplicity, its purity, its gentleness, its noble self-denial, its lofty ideals, constituted an amalgam for which it would be difficult to find a parallel anywhere. Whenever I was with him I felt the magnetism of his sweet personality. At first his relations with Lord Curzon were good, I had almost said cordial. He seldom met him in private, but he was in close and constant touch with Sir Walter Lawrence, the Private Secretary, and through Sir Walter he was able to convey his ideas on public affairs to His Excellency. And I have reasons to think that this was not without its effect on the policy of Government. I need hardly add that so long

as this intercourse lasted, it was all for the country's good. On the New Years day of 1904, Mr. Gokhale was made a Companion of the Indian Empire. In conveying him his felicitations, Lord Curzon sent him an autograph letter. A finer tribute to a public man could not be conceived and it was, I need hardly say, thoroughly well deserved. Mr. Gokhale had not come to occupy then that position in the public life of the country as he did later on when he respectfully asked to be excused higher honours and to be permitted to remain as he was. His relations, however, with Lord Curzon became strained soon after the introduction of the University Bill. He opposed it from a high sense of public duty but his Lordship could not put up with this opposition with equanimity and severely upbraided Mr. Gokhale for, as he said, his unfounded suspicious attitude. When he got his chance later on, Mr. Gokhale quietly remarked that he had not deserved the rebuke that had been administered to him. The rebuke was, however, repeated later on with greater emphasis. At the close of the day's sitting, even some official members came to Mr. Gokhale and told him that he had their sympathy in the unmerited reprimand levelled at him. One other incident I may mention as showing the character of the man. Sir Dr. Ramkrishna Bhandarkar was specially nominated an additional member to help in the elaboration of the University Bill. Generally, his views were in disagreement with Mr. Gokhale's and when it became his duty to criticise Dr. Bhandarkar's presentation of the case, he prefaced his speech

by the graceful remark that the learned Doctor was his preceptor at College and he could not speak of him or of any thing that fell from him except with great reverence. This put me in mind of the fine incident in the Mahabharat when Arjuna before battling with Dronacharjya, made his obeisance at the feet of his revered guru and prayed for his benedictions. One more incident, which we enjoyed much, I will relate here. Mr. Pedler, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, in defending the Bill had gone out of his way to attack the Calcutta graduates, calling them convict graduates. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting here Mr. Gokhale's fine retort, which was given on the spur of the moment :—

“The Hon'ble Mr. Pedler had told the Council of dishonest clerks, unscrupulous managers of colleges, and convict graduates. I do hope, for the Hon'ble Member's own sake as much as for the credit of the educated classes, that there has been another and a brighter side to his experience. Else, my Lord, what a sad sense of failure he must carry with him into his retirement. Happily all educationists have not been so unfortunate in their experience nor, if I may say so, so one-sided in their judgments. There have been men among them who have regarded the affection and reverence of their pupils as their most valued possession, who have looked upon the educated classes with a feeling of pride, and who have always stood up for them whenever anyone has ventured to assail them. One such Professor, within my experience, was Dr. Wordsworth, grandson of the great poet—a man honour-

ed and loved as few Englishmen have been on our side. Another such man is Mr. Selby, whose approaching retirement will inflict a most severe loss on the Education Department of our Presidency. My Lord, I am aware that it is invidious to mention names ; but these two men have exercised such abiding influence over successive generations of students during their time that I feel no hesitation in offering a special tribute of recognition and gratitude to them. Their hold over the minds of their pupils has been due, not only to their intellectual attainments, but also to their deep sympathy with them as a class which they had helped specially to create. I believe that such men have never had occasion to complain that their views on any subject did not receive at the hands of educated Indians the consideration that was due to them. It is through such men that some of England's best work in India is done ; it is these men who present to the Indian mind the best side of English character and English culture. It is such men that are principally wanted for the work of higher education in India in the present state of things, and the best interests of both the rulers and the ruled may safely be entrusted to their keeping."

For Lord Kitchener, Mr. Gokhale had the highest regard. He once referred to him in a felicitous passage in one of his speeches during the University Bill debate as that "Great Soldier sitting on the right of His Excellency." I know that between the two there soon grew up a strong friendship, the admiration and esteem of one virile nature for another. I may mention here that

whenever the Budget discussion came on, Lord Kitchener used to feel rather nervous that Mr. Gokhale by his persuasive eloquence might convert the Government to his views regarding Army Estimates. To show how magnanimous he was, I will give here an instance. Once while passing through Nagpur he was grossly and wantonly insulted by a military officer, with whom he was, travelling in the same compartment. The matter was reported to Government. Hearing of this, the officer in question sent at once an apology to Mr. Gokhale. But Lord Curzon, who had just then punished an English regiment for their misconduct towards Indians, was for making an example of the delinquent. No sooner did Mr. Gokhale come to know of this than he wrote of his own accord that with the apology the incident so far as he was concerned was over and he would be glad if it was allowed to rest there. I had this from Sir Andrew Fraser, then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. At our special request, he once broke his journey at Nagpur on his way back from Calcutta to Poona. He was then engaged in thinking out his scheme to found the "Servant of India Society." He unfolded it to me. He said Indians furnished the highest type of self-abnegation in their *Sanyasis*, who renounced the world and its material interests and subjecting themselves to rigorous self-discipline and self-annihilation, consecrated their lives to the service of God. Why should not such a nation find devotees willing to consecrate their lives to the service of their Motherland in the spirit of their religious *Sanyasis*?

I told him that this was exactly the idea our immortal Bankim had developed in his "Ananda Math" and the "Bande Mataram" song was the outward manifestation of this spiritualised patriotism. But what was possible to create in the pages of a work of fiction, I said, might not be equally possible of materialisation in actual life. Mr. Gokhale replied that he had thought long and deep on the subject and had made up his mind to launch his scheme, for in it lay, he added, the salvation of our country. For unless we had a band of men moulded by one idea and schooled and spiritualised by rigid discipline into a compact body of self-less workers, we cannot have the driving force so necessary for our advancement. Soon after this, in June, 1905, the Society was founded. He had barely ten years to nurture it. That it had proved a potent agency for political and social service, cannot now admit of any doubt. It will be for the nation to make it grow and prosper and realise fully the ideals of its noble founder. He paid another visit to Nagpur, that was in the course of his itinerary in connection with the primary education propaganda. I could see he was far from well. He badly needed rest both to his brain and body. I gently pointed this out to him but he said he could not think of rest while his work was still unfinished. I expostulated, adding what I thought would be a home-thrust, that his life was not his own but his nation's. But alas it had no effect. He said that if he died while serving his country that was just the kind of death he longed for.

We had our memorial meeting on the 27th of February. The City was then in the grip of plague and the people were camping out. Nevertheless the meeting, which had to be held in the Civil Station, was well attended. People came from their camps a long way off to attend it. Later on, on the 3rd of April, we had another meeting to settle about the form of the memorial. Besides a personal memorial in the shape of a portrait, we decided upon having a library in his name to serve as an information bureau and also to have a permanent fund for the Servant of India Society. Later on, the subscribers registered themselves into a Society under Act XXI of 1860 called "the Gokhale Memorial Library Society", the main object as stated in the Memorandum of Association being the establishment in Nagpur of a Library for the study of economic, historical, political, social and administration questions. We have purchased a house in the new town-let of Nagpur, "Craddock Town", where the library is located and which also serves as residential quarters for the local member of the Servant of India Society. The rest of the fund is in Government securities, which are vested in the Treasurer of Charitable Endowments under Act VI of 1890. Our Chief Commissioner, Sir Benjamin Robertson, had asked to be associated with the memorial as soon as he heard we were going to have one and he sent us a handsome subscription and so did Sir Frank Sly, Mr. Gokhale's colleague in the Public Service Commission. When our Council met on the 13th of March, 1915, Sir Benjamin

referred to Mr. Gokhale's death in the following words.

"To Mr. Gokhale's brilliant talents and to his life work for India, into which he threw himself with all his wonderful energy and with whole-souled devotion, tribute has been paid in the last few weeks throughout the length and breadth of the country." To me his death has been a personal loss which I deeply deplore, as I was his colleague in the Imperial Legislative Council and was brought into close touch with him in the discussion of many matters of public importance. Chief amongst these was the question of the grievances of Indians in South Africa. No one can testify more than I can to what Mr. Gokhale did to bring about a settlement of this difficulty, by his marvellous clear-sightedness and his moderate and statesmanlike views. India is the poorer by his death, but his example will remain for all time to guide and encourage all those who are working for her advancement and for the welfare of her people."

On behalf of the non-official members I replied as follows :—

"We thank you, Sir, for your most kindly reference to the passing away of our great leader and statesman, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, and for your warm sympathy with us in the irreparable loss we have sustained by his death while he was yet in the midst of his great work in the cause of his country—a work for which he sacrificed his valuable life."

The over-whelming sense of loss comes upon me afresh as I write the above and I pass on

with a heart as heavy and with feelings as highly strung as on the day when we heard that he had left us.

C. P. and
Berar
University
Committee.

By a resolution dated the 8th July, 1914, our local Administration appointed a Committee to frame a scheme providing for a University at Nagpur for the Central Provinces and Berar. I was put on this Committee. We are at present affiliated to the Allahabad University and we both officials and non-officials have often felt that owing to our not being adequately represented on the Senate and the Syndicate, our interests are not so well looked after as we think they should be.

The Committee was partly the outcome of this feeling. But its main justification lay in the circumstance that the two Provinces have now reached a stage in the matter of collegiate education when they should have a University exclusively for themselves and controlled by their own representatives. We had to elaborate a scheme for a University which was in the main to be a teaching and residential University with powers to affiliate outside institutions. For it is now recognised on all hands that the old type of Universities which are merely examining bodies must give place to teaching and residential Universities. Our deliberations began almost immediately on our formation and we submitted our report in March 1915. Not having any experience of the working of Universities, though I have always taken a keen interest in education, I can not say I contributed anything of value to the deliberations

of the Committee. We had, however several experts to help us. I make one exception and that is as regards the law department. It was at my suggestion that a three years course after graduating in Arts or Science was adopted. The course of study was also at my suggestion so framed as to make the scientific aspect of legal education its prominent feature, while of course not neglecting the current law and procedure. We also recommended that the method of teaching should be both by way of lectures and tutorial instructions during the usual college hours. These recommendations evoked some adverse criticism. One of our members also dissented. The main grounds for objecting to the scheme were, (1) that it would impose greater financial burden on the students, (2) that it would defer their entry into the profession by one year and (3) that it would prevent law study from being combined with other occupations, such as teachership in schools, and clerkship in Government offices. But I would point out, as I pointed out at the time, that the Bar is an institution which is not so much for the special benefit of its members as for the good of the community. And so the ideal which should be kept in view in elaborating a scheme is not what would best conserve the personal interests of the students but what would give the public a select body of finished lawyers. Moreover, we already have in most of the principal towns as many legal practitioners as we reasonably need. There is no object in making the course cheap and easy merely to accentuate

the present yearly rate of increase in their number. One very harmful effect of this increase in the supply beyond the legitimate demands of the public is that malpractices like touting creep in. In the struggle to secure a practice, the sense of honour which should regulate the conduct of the members of the Bar is lost sight of and while the less punctilious prosper, the really honourable men are unable to get a footing much to the loss of the litigants and the reputation of the profession. And it should not be forgotten that touts cannot exist and flourish unless there are members of the Bar ready to avail themselves of their services and to thrive on them.

Mrs. Besant
in Nagpur.

In October, 1915, Mrs. Besant paid a visit to Nagpur. She had just then relinquished charge of her great educational institution at Benares and had decided to engage in political work. She bought up the moribund "Madras Standard" and re-christening it "New India," made it her organ. She founded a new political organization and called it the "Indian Home Rule League." The Congress had already declared the attainment under the aegis of the British Crown of a system of self-government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire to be its object and goal, this object and goal to be achieved through constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration. Mrs. Besant wanted, however, to have a separate organization of her own, having for its sole aim the attainment of what she called "Home Rule" and with her marvellous energy she got to work. In the course

of her itinerary she came here. She put up with me and I had to arrange for a meeting where she could unfold and explain her scheme. As far as I could make out from the discussions I had with her, she seemed to think that India was ready immediately to assume charge of the government of the country, except military forces and the foreign relations. She wanted me to join her "League" and help to establish a branch at Nagpur. I told her that so far as my Province was concerned, and of it only I could speak with knowledge, I was very clearly of opinion that we would have to go through several years of severe training before we would be fit to replace completely the existing system by a Government of our own, although a beginning could with advantage be made in the direction of attainment of the goal set before us by the Congress. There being no place in Nagpur where the large audience expected could be accommodated, the meeting was held in an open park. It was packed to its utmost capacity. I had to preside as no body else would. I say this because I do not think I have presided over more than three or four public meetings in my life and then too under pressing and peculiar circumstances. The address was a thrilling and enchanting piece of rhetoric but I may be excused for saying that although we were told a great deal in words of glowing eloquence of the ancient glories of India, there was not much in it dealing with the realities of the present situation except generalities. I told her after the lecture that she would have my warm sympathy in her selfless work for the

uplift of my people generally but I could not join her. Whatever opinion one may have about the main planks of her propaganda, there can be no question that she captivated and to a great extent captured "Young India." In little more than a year the Home Rule movement became the most powerful movement among the Indian intelligentsia. It opened branches in every province and it had its organ in every leading city. It soon captured the Congress and brushing aside the Moderates, installed Mrs. Besant as President in the Calcutta Session of 1917, despite the opposition of the old leaders, which opposition was, however, for the sake of buying peace afterwards withdrawn. The propaganda work was arranged on the lines familiar in England and young men devoted their time and energy to the cause without stint. The ideals formulated by President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and others that the wishes of the people must be the supreme consideration in the settlement of their government reverberated from one end of the country to the other and for the first time in our political history the so-called "dumb masses" were reached and were educated into the belief that in their own land they were a subject and inferior people. The cry was heard everywhere that if the Japanese and the Chinese could manage their own affairs, why could not the Indians with their great past civilisation do likewise? Why deny them a fair trial? In June 1917, within three years of her entry into the arena of politics, the Madras Government interned her with a view to put an end to her activities, as it was thought.

But as after events demonstrated, it had exactly the contrary effect. It enhanced her popularity and influence and secured for her sympathy even in quarters where her propaganda was not approved. I was then President of the Local Congress Committee and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Provincial Association and it became necessary for me to decide whether I should guide and control the strong feeling of resentment that the action of the Madras Government had roused among my countrymen of all shades of opinion. I had no hesitation in deciding that whatever my views about Mrs. Besant's ideals, I should join my countrymen in protesting against what I agreed in thinking was an arbitrary act of interference with legitimate political agitation under an Act which, according to the authoritative statements made in Council, was directed against anarchical crimes and conspiracies and revolutionary movements. The Governor of Madras had just then stated that the carrying on of a movement for the early securing of self-government was by itself an objectionable course. And the internment was presumably a logical consequence of this view. But it did not take the Government long to resile from this obviously untenable position. But the *Communiqué* that was issued failed to make it clear why Mrs. Besant was interned, unless it be to crush her Home Rule movement. Lord Pentland in his interview with her declared his inability to say why her liberty was being interfered with. If she had spoken or written anything which transgressed the penal laws, the

Her
internment.

proper course was to have prosecuted her. The popular feeling was in a most excited condition and we had to take special precautions with respect to the public meeting that was proposed to be held. Mr. M. V. Joshi, the veteran, Borar leader, had a little previous to this come and settled down at Nagpur much to the strengthening of our local political movements. I proposed him as Chairman. The speakers were selected with care and their speeches were prepared in advance and subjected to careful scrutiny. As a result, we had the satisfaction of having demonstrated within perfectly legitimate limits, while giving full and adequate expression to the intense popular feeling. The official reporters present were given every facility to take notes, and to help them copies of the intended speeches were given to them in advance, so that there might be no room for misreporting. Mrs. Besant was soon released, presumably under instructions from higher quarters and I think the Government gained and not lost prestige by this act of courageous statesmanship. After this, Mrs. Besant had no difficulty in securing the majority of votes of the various Provincial Congress Committees in support of her candidature for the Presidentship. Although I had joined in the demonstration of protest against her internment, I entirely disagreed with those who thought she was the fittest person to lead and guide the Congress at that critical time. I was outvoted and had to resign my presidentship of the Congress Committee. Later on, I had to sever my connection completely with it as also with the Provincial

Association, as those disagreeing with the view which I held and with which I was associated all my life, had secured a large majority in both the bodies. I believe that persons of our ways of thinking have been entirely weeded out of them both.

On the 20th February, 1917, we completed the fiftieth year of our marriage. We were both children when we were married and we only saw one another when our hands were joined together at the auspicious moment fixed according to our Shastric rules in the midst of a solemn religious ceremony prescribed for us by our sages in ages gone by. Surrounded by our loving children and grand-children, we had a quiet devotional thanks-giving ceremony to remind us of the happy years that have rolled over us since then. The present Hindu marriage system gives no scope for the free exercise of choice. Now that we are discarding child-marriage, as we must if we wish to survive as a nation in the struggle for existence, leaving alone other considerations, it is inevitable that our children must have a voice in selecting their companions in life. None-the-less, I am strongly of opinion that in this matter their discretion should not be absolute and unfettered. I think that there is much in our own system which deserves to be maintained, with of course modifications made necessary by changing circumstances. I will relate what happened in our own case. My wife's grand-father, Babu Shib Chandra Deb, accompanied by Babu Peary Chand Mitra; one of the creators of the modern Bengali Literature, came to "see" me as the phrase goes.

The fiftieth anniversary of our marriage.

The latter by the by was the grand father of Mr. J. Mitra, our present Additional Judicial Commissioner and father-in-law of Shib Chandra Babu's fourth daughter, Mr. Mitra's mother. They examined me in my studies, put me through a course of catechisms about my general habits regarding my health, methods of study &c. and finished up by asking me to write down my ideas about the duties of a husband to his wife ! Fortunately, I was a diligent reader of Bengali literature and had read most of Peary Babu's works. I complied and they took my wonderful production home. I believe I was declared as having passed the test. This was followed by a visit by my maternal grand-father accompanied by my father, who was then a young man and therefore took only a subordinate part in the matter, to "see" my wife. In those days female education had only just begun. My grand father, though belonging to the old class, was in favour of educating our girls. For then, he used to say, they would be able to read Ramayana and Mahabharata themselves. He examined my wife as to her studies. But having done so, he made critical enquiries as to whether she had been trained in the household duties of a Hindu girl. Babu Shib Chandra Deb's wife was a highly educated lady, a very rare thing in those old days. But unlike what unfortunately happens among us in these later days, her education had not made her forget her duties as a Hindu wife. She remained what she ever was, the guardian angel of her husband's household. She had six daughters and several grand-daughters including

my wife under her care and besides the literary education she gave them, she carefully trained them in all the domestic duties of a Hindu family and so my grand father was satisfied. After this, both parties made careful enquiries regarding various matters relating to the two families and also our general conduct at our respective schools. A satisfactory decision on all points having been reached, the final word was given and the marriage took place in due course. Our gratefulness to our grand fathers who brought us together is as deep as it is unending. An admirable life of Babu Shib Chandra Deb and his saintly wife has recently been brought out by the eldest son of their eldest daughter, Babu Abinash Chandra Ghosh, M. A., B. L. It may not be out of place to mention here that Abinash Babu's father was Babu Girish Chandra Ghosh, the founder of the "Bengalee." No body can rise from a perusal of this book without being the better for it. Truly the poet has sung the lives of great men remind us we can make our lives sublime. I hope it may be possible for me to render the book into English so as to give it a wider circle of readers.

Here for the present I stop. I hope later on to continue this narrative, though I feel that my time for thought is fast running out.
